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SCHOOL DAYS OF JOHN RANDOLPH.

From Hugh A. Garland, *"Life of John Randolph of Roanoke,"* 1851.

After Christmas the boys were sent to Walker Maury's school[1] in Orange county. Before he was nine years of age,

[1] Walker Maury, son of Rev. James Maury and Mary Walker, his wife, was born in Fredericksville Parish, Louisa County, July 21, 1752. In 1770 he entered the William and Mary College Grammar School on the Nottoway Scholarship, and December 12, 1772, was promoted by the Faculty to the Philosophy Schools, from which he graduated in May, 1775, receiving in May, 1774, the Botetourt gold medal for the encouragement of classical learning. He taught school in Orange County, where John Randolph, of Roanoke, was one of his scholars, and as the Grammar School at William and Mary was discontinued in 1779, he removed to Williamsburg, where he conducted a grammar school of his own, This school had, in addition to the principal, four ushers and an attendance of 100 scholars; and among them besides John Randolph and his brothers Richard, Theodorick and John, who followed him to Williamsburg, was the celebrated Littleton Waller Tazewell, afterwards Senator and Governor. In 1786 Mr. Maury removed to Norfolk where he was principal of the academy there, and made a profit of £200 annually, but he did not survive long, dying October 11, 1788. He married Mary Grymes, daughter of Benjamin Grymes and Mary Dawson, his wife, daughter of Rev. Musgrave Dawson. He left issue ten children. ("Huguenot Emigrants"—Va. Hist. Coll. V., 123, 208; William and Mary Quarterly, I., p. 220; VI., p. 81; X., 122, 123, 124; XIV., 26, 27, 242, 244.) His father was the Rev. James Maury, who was also a graduate of William and Mary College, minister for many years (1743-1769) of Fred-

John was separated from the brooding watchfulness of a devoted mother, and exposed to the dangers, evil examples, and vices of a public school. Tender and delicate as a female, he was forced out on the society of ruder boys, to endure or to resist as he might their kicks, cuffs and bruises. Early did he begin among his equals to learn that personal merit is of more avail than birth or riches, and that truth, fortitude and courage are more to be valued than much learning.

At the school in Orange, the young Randolphs remained until about the middle of October, 1782, when it was broken up, and Mr. Maury removed to the city of Williamsburg. He had been invited to that place to establish a Grammar School as an appendage to William and Mary College, in which there was no professorship of Humanity existing at that time.

The school was regulated most judiciously; and was soon attended by more pupils than any other Grammar School that had been before established or has since existed in Virginia. More than one hundred, at one time, were in attendance, including boys from every State in the Union, from Georgia to Maryland, both inclusive. Such a number of pupils made it necessary that they should be divided into classes. The greater proportion of these classes were consigned to assistants, of whom there were four.

Soon after Mr. Maury was established in Williamsburg, the young Randolphs followed him there, and again became members

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ericksville Parish, formerly Hanover County and afterwards in Louisa and then in Albemarle County; distinguished for his opposition to the Two Penny Act of 1757, which gave occasion for Patrick's Henry's famous speech in 1763 on the Parson's Cause. His mother was Mary Walker, daughter of James Walker, of Albemarle County, brother, it is believed, of Dr. Thomas Walker, the explorer. Walker Maury's grandfather was Matthew Maury, a French Huguenot, who married Mary Anne Fontaine, daughter of Rev. James Fontaine and his wife, Anne Elizabeth Boursiquot, and came from Gascony about 1718 to Virginia. Rev. James Fontaine was born at Jenouille, France, and received the degree of Master of Arts from the College of Guienne; was imprisoned 1658; escaped after the revocation of the Edict of Nants to England and landed there December 6, 1685; was admitted to Holy Orders by the Protestant Synod at Taunton, June 10, 1688.

of his school. Richard, the eldest, was placed in the second class, under the immediate direction of Mr. Maury himself. Theodorick and John were placed in the fourth class, which was the head class assigned to the superintendence of the chief usher, a Mr. Elliot. When the class was so augmented, it was reading, and had nearly finished, Eutropius. One of the books then used by a classmate, with a class-roll written on the fly-leaf, is still extant.

In a short time after the young Randolphs joined it, the class had made such progress that it was transferred from the usher's department to that of the principal. It then became the third class. While John Randolph continued a member of it, which was more than a year, it was engaged in reading Sallust and Virgil, and had made some progress in learning the Greek and French languages, and the elements of Geometry. Though he complained of having learned but little at this school, his attainments for the short time he was connected with it must have been very considerable. While there he learned to repeat the Westminster Greek Grammar by heart, as he could the alphabet.

It was around the base of Lord Botetourt's statue,[2] in the old Capitol, the great clock, now removed to the church in Williamsburg, vibrating overhead, that he committed his lessons to memory. His attainment in Latin also must have been considerable. The boys were in the habit of acting plays in the original language from Plautus and Terrence. He was always selected to perform the female parts. His feminine appearance and the "spice of the devil in his temper," rendered him peculiarly fitted for that purpose, and his performance was admirable. One who remembers his personal appearance at that time, in speaking of

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[2] LORD BOTETOURT'S statue stood at this time in front of the Capitol, and so Walker Maury probably had his school in that building. In this building, also, which ceased to be used for government purposes after the removal of the seat of government to Richmond in 1780, Professor George Wythe held his moot courts and moot legislatures with his law class. The clock was removed some time later to the Court House and thence in 1840 to the steeple of the church, where it did service for many years. In 1903 the church was repaired and the works of the clock removed, but the face is still the same.

him, lifted up both hands, and exclaimed, "he was the most beautiful boy I ever beheld!" He was, indeed, the admiration of all who saw him, was a great favorite with the ladies, but his proud temper and reserved manners prevented him from forming any intimate associations with his school fellows. Though a promiscuous intercourse was repugnant to his feelings, no one was more capable of appreciating true merit, and of forming closer, more unreserved, warmer, and lasting attachments than John Randolph. Shunning vulgar society and repelling familiarity, he was the more open and devoted to those who were honored with his friendship. He had a natural instinct for discovering character; and was remarkable in earliest youth for his discernment and scrutiny into motives.

Among the hundreds of boys with whom he came in daily contact, he associated with, and formed an attachment to, one classmate alone. That classmate was Littleton Waller Tazewell.[3]

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[3] LITTLETON WALLER TAZEWELL, son of Judge Henry Tazewell and Dorothea Elizabeth Waller, daughter of Judge Benjamin Waller, was born Dec. 17, 1774, in Williamsburg. The house, a long, low wooden building of a story and a half with dormer windows, situated in the eastern part of the city on the south side of Francis Street, where it enters into York Street (sometimes called Woodpecker Street), is still standing. He was born upstairs in the northeast room. This house is now the property of the Morecock family and was originally built by Judge Benjamin Waller. Tazewell went first to school to the celebrated lawyer, John Wickham, in Lunenburg Co. He was then six years old, and Wickham was seventeen. "During the course of two years he taught me first to read English better than I could do before; next the rudiments of Latin, and lastly, to write." In 1782 he returned to Williamsburg, and entered Walker Maury's Grammar School and studied Cordery in the same class with John Randolph. Mr. Tazewell used to say that John Randolph was very idle at school, and that he was flogged regularly every Monday morning and two or three times during the week. This was probably the reason why John Randolph had so little admiration for Walker Maury's school. Here in the winter of 1785-'86, Tazewell again met his former tutor, John Wickham, who became a student of law under his father, Judge Henry Tazewell. About 1789, Mr. Tazewell entered the College and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 31, 1792. Among his classmates were James Barbour, of Orange; William Henry Cabell, George Keith Taylor, and Robert Barraud Taylor. After leaving College, Mr. Tazewell studied law in Richmond under his early

With a genius as brilliant as his own, a heart as warm, and a person as prepossessing, young Tazewell was worthy of the distinction. A mutual respect and friendship grew up between them, which lasted to the end of Mr. Randolph's life, and the recollection of which is still warmly preserved by the noble survivor. In a manner peculiar to John Randolph, this early attachment was often called to remembrance, and cherished. Near forty years afterwards, when he had heard a lady sing some Scotch airs, he wrote to a friend: "Among others she sang 'There's nae luck aboot the house' very well, and Auld Lang Syne.' When she came to these lines:

'We twa ha'e paidlet in the burn,
Frae morning sun till dine,'

I cast my mind's eye around for such a 'trusty feese,' and could light only on Tazewell (who God be praised, is here), and you may judge how we met."

In the spring of 1784, after he had been in Williamsburg a little more than one year, John Randolph was taken away from school. His parents went on a visit to Mr. Tucker's friends in the island of Bermuda, and as John's health was very delicate,

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tutor, John Wickham, who had married Mr. Tazewell's aunt, a half-sister of Judge Henry Tazewell. On May 14, 1796, he received his license to practice law from Judges Peter Lyons, Edmund Winston and Joseph Jones. Of his great career as a lawyer and a statesman, I do not propose here to say anything in detail. A contemporary, speaking of him in the convention of 1829-'30, said that "Tazewell trod down those great men as if they had been children," and in the Senate when Tazewell was making one of his great speeches Daniel Webster remarked: "Why, Tazewell grows greater every day." His remark in the Senate to Van Buren on the question of the tariff of 1828 was long quoted. "You deceived me once, sir, that was your fault; if you deceive me again, the fault will be mine." He was a colleague in the Senate of John Tyler, who named a son after him, Dr. Tazewell Tyler. He died in Norfolk, March 6, 1860, and Hugh Blair Grigsby was invited by the Norfolk people to deliver an address on his life. When President Tyler heard of this, he said: "Happy the eulogist who has such a subject, and happy the man who has such a eulogist." (See "Discourse on the Life and Character of Gov. Tazewell," by Hugh Blair Grigsby.)

they took him along with them. When about to take his leave, he proposed to young Tazewell that they should exchange class-books, that each might have some testimonial of their mutual friendship and of its origin.

They acordingly exchanged Sallusts. Not many years since, while he was in Norfolk, preparing to depart on his mission to Russia, he showed Mr. Tazewell the identical Sallust he (Tazewell) had given him. On the fly-leaf of the book he had written, at the time he received it, how, when, and from whom he had acquired it. To this he added this hexameter: *"Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."*

He continued abroad more than eighteen months, and not having the advantage of daily recitation, the Greek language, which he had begun so successfully to acquire in his promenades around Lord Botetourt's statue, was entirely effaced from his memory; and he barely kept alive the more extensive knowledge he had acquired of the Latin. Though these newly acquired elements of learning were readily abandoned, and easily effaced, pursuits more genial to his taste were followed with unabated vigor. Poetry continued to be the charm of his life. While abroad, he read Chatterton and Rowley, and Young and Gay. Percy's Reliques and Chaucer then became his great favorites. On his return to Virginia, in the latter part of 1785, we do not learn that he returned to Walker Maury's school in Wiliiamsburg; on the contrary, we presume he did not, for he then would have formed an acquaintance in early youth with John Brockenbrough, the most intimate friend of his after life.

The letter from which the above paragraph was taken continues in this wise: "During the time that Dr. Brockenbrough was at Walker Maury's school (from the spring of 1784, to the end of 1785), I was in Bermuda; and (although he was well acquainted with both my brothers) our acquaintance did not begin until nearly twenty years afterwards. Do you know that I am childish enough to regret this very sensibly? for, although I cannot detract from the esteem or regard in which I hold him, or lessen the value I set upon his friendship, yet, had I known him then, I think I should enjoy 'Auld Lang Syne' more, when I hear it sung, or hum it to myself, as I often do."

How he spent the next twelve or eighteen months after his return from Bermuda, we have not been able to learn. When we see him again it is at Princeton College, in the autumn of 1787. The manner in which he spent his time there and at Columbia College, New York, shall be given in his own words:

"My mother once expressed a wish to me, that I might one day or other be as a great a speaker as Jerman Baker or Edmund Randolph! That gave the bent to my disposition. At Princeton College, where I spent a few months (1787), the prize of elocution was borne away by mouthers and ranters. I never would speak, if I could possibly avoid it, and when I could not, repeated, without gesture, the shortest piece that I had committed to memory. I remember, some verses from Pope, and the first anonymous letter from Newberg, made up the sum and substance of my spoutings, and I can yet repeat much of the first epistle (to Lord Chatham) of the former, and a good deal of the latter. I was then as conscious of my superiority over my competitors in delivery and elocution, as I am now that they are sunk in oblivion; and I despised the award and the umpires in the bottom of my heart. I believe that there is no where such foul play as among professors and schoolmasters; more especially if they are priests. I have had a contempt for college honors ever since.

"My mother's death drew me from Princeton, (where I had been forced to be idle, being put into a noisy wretched grammar school for Dr. Witherspoon's emolument: I was ten times a better scholar than the master of it,) and in June, 1788, I was sent to Columbia College, New-York; just then having completed my fifteenth year. Never did higher literary ambition burn in human bosom. Columbia College, New-York, was just rising out of chaos; but there was an Irishman named Cochran, who was our humanity professor.

"I now (July, 1788) mastered the Eaton grammar, and gave Cochran, who was a scholar, 'and a ripe and good one,' a half-joe, out of my own pocket, for months, to give me private lessons. We read Demosthenes together, and I used to cry for indignation at the success of Philip's arts and arms over the liberties

of Greece. But some disgust induced my master to remove to Nova Scotia, where a professor's chair was offered him, about three months after I became his pupil. Next to the loss of my mother, and my being sent to Walker Maury's school (and one other that I shall not name), this was the greatest misfortune of my life.

"Unhappily, my poor brother Theodorick, who was two years older than myself, had a strong aversion to books and a decided taste for pleasure. Often when I had retreated from him and his convivial associates to my little study, has he forced the lock, taken away my book, and rendered further prosecution of my purpose impossible. From that time forward I began to neglect study (Cochran left no one but Dr. Johnson, the president, of any capacity behind him, and he was in the Senate of the United States from March, 1789), read only the trash of the circulating library, and never have read since, except for amusement, unless for a few weeks at Williamsburg at the close of 1793; and all my dear mother's fond anticipations and all my own noble and generous aspirations have been quenched; and if not entirely—if a single spark or languid flame yet burns—it is owing to my accidental election to Congress five and twenty years ago."

He was recalled from Princeton by the death of his mother. That sad event took place the 18th of January, 1788. She was but thirty-six years old when she died. Cut off in the bloom of youth and beauty, he ever retained a most vivid and impassioned remembrance of her person, her charms, and her virtues. He always kept her portrait hanging before him in his chamber. Though he was not yet fifteen years old, the loss to him was irreparable. She knew him; she knew the delicacy of his frame, the tenderness of his heart, the irritability of his temper; and she alone could sympathize with him. Many years after this event—the day after his duel with Mr. Clay—while reflecting on the narrow escape he had made with his life, and the professions of men who disappear in such an hour of trial, his mind naturally reverted to his dear mother, who understood and never forsook him; he wrote this to a friend: "I am a fatalist. I am but friendless. Only one human being ever knew me. She only

knew me." That human being was his mother! The loss to him was irreparable; nor did he ever cease to mourn over it. Rarely did he come to Petersburg or its vicinity, that he did not visit old Matoax, in its wasted solitude, and shed tears over the grave of those honored parents, by whose side it was the last wish of his heart to be buried.[4]

The spring of the year 1788 was spent in Virginia. It does not appear that he was engaged in any regular course of study. Much of his time, as was his custom whenever he could, was devoted to friendship. He spent several weeks of this vacation with young Tazewell, at his father's house, in Williamsburg. While there, he discoursed at large on the various incidents he had met with while abroad in Bermuda, and at college in Princeton, thus early displaying that faculty of observation and fluent narrative that in after years rendered his conversation so brilliant and captivating. After his departure on the present occasion, he commenced a correspondence, which with short intervals, was kept up through life. Such was Mr. Tazewell's reputation for profound learning on all subjects touching the laws and the Constitution of the country, that Mr. Randolph consulted him on every important occasion as it arose in Congress. Often in one line would he propound an inquiry that cost his friend weeks of investigation to answer. His own early letters displayed an inquiring mind far beyond his years. In his first letter, written on his arrival in New-York, (June, 1788), he stated that alien duties had been exacted by the custom-house there, not only upon the vessel in which he had taken his passage, which was owned in Virginia, but upon the passengers on board of her, all of whom were natives of Virginia. This statement was accompanied by many reflections, designed to show the impolicy of such exactions on the part of New-York, and the ill effects that would result

[4] THE PARENTS of John Randolph were John Randolph, of "Matoax," in Prince George County, and Frances Bland, his wife, daughter of Colonel Theodorick Bland, of "Cawsons," in the same county. John Randolph, Sr., died Oct. 28, 1775, aged 34, and his widow married Sept 23, 1778, St. George Tucker, formerly of Bermuda. By this second marriage she had among other children Henry St. George Tucker and Nathaniel Beverley Tucker.

from persisting in such a course. This incident took place before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, and when the subject of it was just fifteen years old. It is mentioned merely to show "the precocious proclivity" of John Randolph to the investigation of political subjects.

Another letter, adressed to the same friend, was confined to an account of the first inauguration of General Washington as President of the United States, which took place the 30th of April, 1789, in the city of New-York. John Randolph was an eye-witness of the scene. His letter contained a narrative of many minute but very interesting incidents that do not appear in any of our public records or histories. This narrative, being written at the moment such incidents occurred, by an ingenuous youth, an eye-witness of the events, had an air of freshness and truthfulness about it that was most captivating. As the letter related to nothing but matters of general interest, young Tazewell showed it to his father, who was so much pleased with it, that shortly afterwards he requested his son to read it to a party of friends who were dining with him. The late Colonel James Innis, the attorney-general, was one considered, at that time, the most eloquent speaker, and the best belleslettres scholar in Virginia. Colonel Innis was so much pleased with the letter, that he took it from the hands of the owner, and read it over and over again, pronouncing it to be a model of such writing, and recommended to the young man to preserve it, and study its style.

COURSES OF STUDY AT CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, ENGLAND, IN 1802.

(From the Cambridge University Calendar by Benjamin Clarke Raworth, A. B., Trinity Hall, Cambridge University.)

[For A. B.]

Studies and Exercises.

The ordinary course of study preparatory to the degree of A. B. is very judicious, and calculated to form the mind both for science and taste. It may be considered under the three heads of Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and the Belles Lettres.

A superficial knowledge of Natural Philosophy, the smattering obtained by skimming over a variety of books, or attending a vast variety of lectures, are here held in no estimation. The Platonic maxim is no where so carefully observed.

ουθεις αγεωμετρητος εισιτω;

and though a five years silence is not prescribed, two years and a quarter which must precede the appearance of a young man in a public exercise before the University, are well employed in laying down the foundation of science. In his first year, the lectures under this head are from Euclid, of whose six first books every young man of future eminence makes himself completely master—the principles of Algebra, plain Trigonometry, and Conic Sections. In the second year he enters upon the Branches, and the parts pursued vary in different colleges; but Mechanics, Hydrostatics, and Optics, with Fluxions, a little of Newton's Principia, the method of Increments, Differential Method, and other miscellanea of this kind occupy his time well during this period. The third year is dedicated to Astronomy, the Principia of Newton, Spherical Trigonometry, the higher parts of Fluxions, Algebra, and Geometry; and in this year commence the exercises in the schools. His last term, or the first

term of the fourth year, requires all the energies of his mind; he is now more deeply engaged in the arduous conflict of the Schools with all his Rivals, and preparing himself for the Senate-House examination.

The course of Moral Philosophy is no less judicious. In the first year lectures are given on Locke and Logic. In the second and third years, Paley, Hartley, Burlamaqui, Rutherford, Clarke on the Attributes, Butler's Analogy, Law's Theory of Religion, and similar works, are the subjects of lectures in various orders in the different colleges. Under this head may be ranked also the lectures on Scriptural knowledge, derived from Beausobre and other authors, treating on the manners, customs, laws, religious rites, geography, and chronology of the nations mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. But of these lectures it may be in general be observed, that the attention paid to them in every college is not the same; for while in some, a due stress is laid upon them, and the Tutors employ great talents and industry in forming the minds of their Pupils, in other colleges these lectures are strangely neglected, and the course is either very meagre, or very irregular.

Under the third head of Academical Studies come the Belles Lettres or Classics, which in most colleges are cultivated with great diligence and success; each term having some part of the best Classics appropriated to the lecture-room. An Oration of Demosthenes, Lysias, Isocrates, a Greek Play, Longinus, Cicero, Quintilian, select portions of Herodotus, Tacitus, Thucydides, &c., &c., afford Exercises for the Pupils, and ample room for the Tutor to display his taste on the best writings of antiquity, and to compare them with parallel works in the modern languages. Compositions, Latin or English, are weekly delivered by the Pupils, either in writing or vica voce in their respective chapels.

In this manner a young man may employ his time, not only profitably to himself, but, we may add, from the variety of his studies, in the most amusing manner, during the period in general allotted to his academical life. Emulation of an honourable knd is excited by prizes and rewards in most of the colleges, and this emulation is not of the dangerous nature too often

perceptible in inferior seminaries, as the first man in each year feels his inferiority to those a few years older than himself, and the pre-eminence over his own year in his own college may receive a most violent check in the collision with the rival heads of his own standing in *fifteen* other colleges.

In the beginning of the month of January, one of the Proctors' servants goes around to every college in the University, (King's College excepted) and requires of the Tutors a list of the Students (denominated Sophs) who in the subsequent January intend to offer themselves candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The names, being thus collected, are delivered to one of the two Moderators, who transcribes them into a book, with appropriate marks given him by the several Tutors, such as reading, non-reading, hard-reading Men, &c.

Upon the second Monday of Lent Term, the Moderator, whose turn it is to preside, gives a written notice to one of the Students in his list to appear in the schools as a Disputant, to keep an Act on that day fortnight. The notice (delivered by a person styled the Moderator's Man) is in the following form:

Respondent, A. B. Coll. ————

Martii 5, 1802. X. Y. Modr.

This person, who is now called the Respondent or Act, in a few hours after he has received the summons, waits upon the Moderator with three Propositions or Questions; the truth of which he is to maintain against the objection of any three Students of the same year, whom the Moderator shall think (from the reports prefixed to their names in his book) proper to nominate, and who on this occasion are called Opponents.

The questions, proposed by the Respondent, are written upon four separate papers, according to a form, of which the following is a specimen. Q. S.

Recte statuit Newtonus in septima sua sectione Libri primi.
Iridis primariae et secundariae Phoenomena solvi possunt ex Principiis Opticis.

Recte statuit Lockius de Qualitatibus Corporum.

.....Resp. Feb. 1.

Coll.....

The first question is in general taken from the Principia of Newton, the second question from some other Writer on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; the third question is called the Moral question, and in this question, Locke, Hume, Butler, Clarke, Hartley, Paley, &c., &c., are alternately attacked or defended.

At the bottom of three of these papers, the Moderator writes the name of a Student, whom he thinks capable of opposing the questions of the Respondent, with the words, Opponentium, primus, secundus or tertius, denoting the order in which the three Opponents are to appear. One of these papers is sent to each Opponent; and from that which remains, the Moderator, at his leisure, transcribes the questions, together with the names of the Respondent and Opponents into his book.

When one Moderator has thus given out the Exercises for a week, or five Acts, (Exercises being held for five days in the week during term) he sends the book to the other, who proceeds according to the same method for the following week, and then returns the book to his Colleague.

The fortnight of preparation being expired, the Respondent enters the schools at three o'clock, the Moderator, attended by one of the Proctor's servants, appearing at the same time, and ascending the chair says,

"Ascendat Dominus Respondens."

The Respondent mounts the rostrum, and reads a Latin Dissertation, called a Thesis, upon any one of the three questions he thinks proper; generally upon the third or Moral question. As soon as the Respondent has finished his Thesis, (which takes ten or fifteen minutes in the reading) the Moderator calls upon the first Opponent to appear. (*Ascendat Opponentium primus.*) He immediately ascends a rostrum opposite to the Respondent, and opposes his arguments against the question in Syllogistical form.

Eight [1] arguments, each consisting of three or four syllogisms, are brought up by the first, five by the second, and three by the third Opponent.

When the Exercise has for some time been carried on according to the strict rules of Logic, the Disputation insensibly slides into free and unconfined debate, in which considerable warmth is frequently exhibited on both sides: the Moderator in the mean time explaining the argument of the Opponent, when necessary; restraining both parties from wandering; sifting the depth of their knowledge upon any subject that may casually arise; and adding at the close of each argument his own determination upon the point in dispute.

The Opponent having exhausted his whole stock of arguments, is dismissed by the Moderator, with such a compliment as he deserves; and after the other two Opponents have performed their parts, the Exercise closes (about five o'clock) with the dismission of the Respondent in a similar manner. The Moderator records the merits of the Disputants in his Book, by marks set opposite to their respective names.

The distinguished men of the year appear eight time in this manner in the schools, twice as Acts, and six times as Opponents, that is twice in each character of Opponents. One act, and three opponencies are kept before the Commencement; and one act and three opponencies are kept before the October term. The ὅι πολλοι generally non-reading men, have less to do, some of them not appearing more than once or twice, and on some of them occasionally a *Descendas* is inflicted, or an order to quit the box, for ignorance of the subject. This however is not very frequent; whenever it does happen, the stigma is indelibly fixed upon the unfortunate object.

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[1] We should have been happy could we have given a Specimen of Arguments against the preceding Questions. But any one the least conversant with the subject must be aware of the absurdity of exhibiting the bare Arguments, without the full Scholastic method of Defence.—This would exceed our limits, if not our ingenuity.

From these disputations, the merits of the men are pretty well ascertained, and the Moderators' book determines the Classes with a tolerable degree of precision. These books are admirably kept; for there are two Moderators for the two first terms, and two other Moderators for the last term; so that the merit of each man, with regard to Scholastic Disputation, is determined by the marks assigned to his name by four persons respectable for their talents and impartiality.

The Vice-Chancellor appoints the first Monday of Lent Term, and the three following days, for the examination of the Questionists: this being the appellation of the Students, during the last six weeks of their preparation. The Moderators having formed the Questionists into Classes (the persons in each class being ranged alphabetically) according to their performance in the school; the first five or six are exhibited in some public part of the University (usually at Deighton's) on the Thursday preceding the Examination Monday.

On the Monday morning, a little before eight o'clock, the Students, generally about a Hundred, enter the Senate-House, preceded by a Master of Arts, who on this occasion is styled the Father of the College to which he belongs. On two pillars at the entrance of the Senate-House are hung the Classes; and a Paper denoting the hours of examination of those who are thought most competent to contend for Honors; of which the following is a copy. * * * *

Immediately after the University clock has struck eight, the names are called over, and the Absentees being marked, are subject to certain fines. The classes to be examined are called out and proceed to their appointed tables, when they find pens, ink, and paper provided in great abundance. In this manner, with the utmost order and regularity, more than two-thirds of the young men are set to work within less than five minutes after the clock has struck eight. There are three chief tables, at which six examiners preside.—At the first, the Senior Moderator of the present year, and the Junior Moderator of the preceding year. At the second, the Junior Moderator of the present, and the Senior Moderator of the preceding year. At the third the Two

Moderators of the year previous to the two last, or Two Examiners appointed by the Senate. The two first tables are chiefly allotted to the six first classes; the third or largest to the οἱ πολλοι The young men hear the Propositions or Questions delivered by the Examiners; they instantly apply themselves; demonstrate, prove, work out, and write down, fairly and legibly, (otherwise their labour is of little avail) the answers required. All is silence; nothing heard save the voice of the Examiners; or the gentle request of some one, who may wish a repetition of the enunciation. It requires every person to use the utmost dispatch; for as soon as ever the Examiners perceive any one to have finished his paper, and subscribed his name to it, another Question is immediately given. A smattering demonstration will weigh little in the scale of merit; every thing must be fully, clearly, and scientifically brought to a true conclusion. And though a person may compose his papers amidst hurry and embarrassment, he ought ever to recollect, that his papers are all inspected, by the united abilities of six examiners with coolness, impartiality, and circumspection. The Examiners are not seated, but keep moving around the tables, both to judge how matters proceed, and to deliver their Questions at proper intervals. The examination, which embraces Arithmetic, Algebra, Fluxions, the doctrine of Infinitesimals and Increments, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, and Astronomy, in all their various gradations, is varied according to circumstances: no one can anticipate a question; for in the course of five minutes he may be dragged from Euclid to Newton; from the humble arithmetic of Bonnycastle, to the abstruse analytics of Waring. While this examination is proceeding at the three tables, between the hours of eight and nine, printed Problems (as may be seen by the preceding paper) are delivered to each person of the first and second classes; these he takes with him to any window he pleases, where there are pens, ink, and paper prepared for his operations. It is needless to add that every person now uses his utmost exertion, and solves as many Problems as his abilities and time will allow.

Examination—Monday, 1802. At nine o'clock the doors of the Senate-House are opened. Each man bundles up his papers,

writes his name on the outside sheet, delivers them to the Examiners, and retires (only half an hour being allowed) to breakfast.

At half past nine all return again to the Senate-House; the roll is called over; particular classes are summoned up to the tables, and examined, as before, 'till eleven, when the Senate-House is again cleared. To give a further idea of the business, we here annex a few miscellaneous Questions, such as the Examiners deliver viva voce, to be fully and regularly written and demonstrated. Some of the lowest classes are mostly employed in demonstrating Euclid, or solving Arithmetical and Algebraical Questions. (Miscellaneous Questions omitted.)

The examinations being thus continued 'till eleven, an adjournment of two hours takes places. At one o'clock the whole return. Problems are then given to the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th classes, while the Table Examinations proceed nearly as before.

At the three o'clock the Senate-House is again cleared for half an hour; during which time the Proctors treat the Fathers and Compounders with tea and coffee. On the return, the examinations are resumed, and continue 'till five o'clock, when the Senate-House Examinations break up for the day.

At seven o'clock in the evening the four first classes (as may be seen by the Paper, page 19,) go to the Senior Moderator's rooms, where they continue 'till nine, to solve Problems; and are treated with wine and fruit.

Examination—Tuesday. At eight o'clock the examinations begin again. Nearly in the same manner, observing the same hour as on the preceding day.

Examination—Wednesday. The hours of attendance are the same this day as the former. The examinations are confined solely to Logic, Moral Philosophy, and points relative to Natural and Revealed Religion. The authors chiefly respected are Locke, Paley, Clarke, Butler, &c. Wednesday, comparatively speaking, is considered as a day of leisure, though all are fully employed at stated periods, as usual. Answers to the respective Questions are seldom given viva voce, but are required to be written down fully and legibly. It is expected in the examinations of this day, all persons, whether they be candidates for Honors or

not, acquit themselves with respectability in the solution of the several Questions which the Examiners may think proper to propose. The few subsequent Questions will give an idea of this day's examination. (Questions omitted.)

The examinations of this day conclude, as usual, at five o'clock; but the fatigue of the Examiner's is by no means diminished; for during the whole of this, as on the preceding night, they have a multitude of Papers to inspect, and to affix to each its degree of merit; according to which a new arrangement of the classes is made out, called the Brackets.

Examination—Thursday. On Thursday the examinations are resumed, and continued nearly as usual, as on the Monday and Tuesday. At eight o'clock the new Classifications or Brackets, which are arranged according to the order of merit, each containing the names of the candidates placed alphabetically, are hung upon the pillars. Thus in the examinations of the preceding days, should any two or more have distinguished themselves above the rest, and are nearly equal, they are included in the first Bracket. The next two, three, four, &c., who prove nearly equal to each other, are included in the second Bracket. The next who are found to be nearly on a level with one another, are included in the third Bracket; and thus the whole number are bracketed.

Upon the exhibition of the Brackets, disapointment or satisfaction is visible in the countenances of the Examiners; some think their merits are placed too low, while others rejoice in the Brackets assigned them. It seldom happens that a person either Rises or Falls from a Bracket; his ultimate station being fixed somewhere within its limits. Each Bracket is examined, and when any one evidently appears to have distinguished himself above the rest, his proper place is determined, and the Examiners give him no further trouble; and in this manner the rest are arranged. Should any one, however, be dissatisfied, as frequently happens, he has the power of challenging(often a dangerous experiment) any that he pleases to a fresh examination; in which case the Moderators call to their assistance the Proctors and some Masters of Arts; who, after the most im-

partial, and sometimes laborious scrutiny, determine the point at issue, and give judgment accordingly. At five o'clock the examinations are finished. The Proctors, Moderators, and Examiners retire to a room under the Public Library, to prepare the list of Honors, and determine the situation of every person that has been examined. Thousands of the papers are frequently again produced, and their real characters subjected to the keen criticism of an aggregate tribunal of eight learned men. The whole business is sometimes settled without much difficulty in a few hours; sometimes not before two or three o'clock the next morning. At this meeting it is determined whether all are to have their degrees passed; sometimes two or three are found deficient; in which case they are Plucked, *i. e.*, turned over to Ash Wednesday (Dunce's Day) or 'till such time as they have qualified themselves for their degree. It is scarcely necessary to add, that so little is required of these low men, that all compassion on the defeat of their hopes, is totally out of the question.

In consequence of the insufficiency of many of the Questionists in 1799, Mr. Palmer, Senior Moderator, singified that for the future no degree should pass, unless the Candidate should have a competent knowledge of the first book of Euclid, Arithmetic, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, Simple and Quadratic Equations, and Locke and Paley. This regulation was communicated to the Fathers in the Senate-House, January 18, 1799, and agreed to.

Such being the case, it is esteemed a reproach, both to the Father and the College, to send any Men without being qualified, at least, to bear an examination such as that above prescribed; for all Societies, some time previous to Examination Monday, try the merits of their own men, before they permit them to undergo the Senate-House Examinations. A select number (thirty at least, *Stat. Acad.*) of those, who have most distinguished themselves, are recommended to the Proctors for their approbation; and if no reason appears to the contrary, their names are set down according to merit, and classed in three divisions, viz.: Wranglers, Senior Optimes, and Junior Optimes;

which constitute the three orders of Honor. The rest are arranged according to merit, but not having obtained any Honor are styled the *οἱ πολλοι* multitude. The lowest honor, or last Junior Optime, obtains the appellation of the Wooden Spoon. The last three, four &c., of the *οἱ πολλοι* who are hard run for their degree, are arranged alphabetically, and usually obtain some distinctive title; such as the Alphabet, Elegant Extracts, Rear Guard, Invincibles, &c., or sometimes their titles are deduced from their number and concurring circumstances of the day, as The Twelve Judges or Apostles, The Consulate, The Executive Directory or Septemvirate, &c.

In the list of Honors, four additional names used to be inserted, at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor, the two Proctors, and the Senior Regent. Whether, from abuse in bestowing these Honors, or the insignificance attached to the characters of those who have accepted this Cobweb Plumage, none at present are hardy enough to offer, and none so ridiculuous as to accept them. The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors' Senior Optimes are to be found upon some of the original Tripos papers; but from deference to the most respectable and learned in this University and elsewhere, they are expunged from the Triposes. We should have been happy to have exhibited a few valuable characters interspersed amongst them, but it would be deviating from those principles which have induced us to adopt the present plan.

It sometimes happened, that those who had raised to themselves a temporary fame, by their excellence in Scholastic disputation, were unfortunately compelled through sickness, to desist from further competition with their Rivals, at the final trial, such being inserted in the classes, after a private trifling examination, were allowed their degrees, and noticed in the list of Honors as aegroti. When sickness was really the case, they were truly to be pitied; and particularly so, as some of them have been known to be men of the highest merit. But an indulgence of this sort naturally introduced abuses; a Nervous Fever, the Scald of a Tea Kettle, or a Bruise of the Hand, frequently put a period to the expectation of their friends.

Anxiety about future prospects, without doubt, like all other disorders of the mind, weakens the body. In a small College, where it is understood, that the test of a private Combination Room examination, a previous prejudice in favour of a person, or the rank of a Second Class Man, will insure advancement in the Society; the inducements for a person to stem the current of a competition, which might cast uupon him the shoals of the *δι πολλοι*, are by no means trivial.

Those who take the degree of Bachelor of Arts at any other than this time, are called Bye-Term Men; they are arranged alphabetically in classes according to their supposed acquirements, either as Baccalairei ad Baptistam, or ad Diem Cinerum; and inserted in the list of seniority among the *δι πολλοι*.[1]

Friday morning—Admission of the Questionist. On this morning there is a Congregation, the Bell begins to ring at nine o'clock and at ten the whole appear in the Senate-House, along with the different Officers, Members of the University, and a large crowd of Spectators. Two Papers, exhibiting a list of the Questionists (of which the following are correct copies) arranged according to their merits, or seniority, are hung on the pillars, for public inspection. (Copies omitted.)

FORM OF ADMISSION OF THE QUESTIONISTS.

The whole being assembled as above, one of the Bedells calls up the Houses, and the Senior Moderator makes a Latin speech concerning the result of the Examinations; the Vice-Chancellor sitting in the chair, and the Moderator standing on his left hand.

The Junior Proctor delivers to the Vice-Chancellor his list of Honors and Seniority subscribed thus:

Examinati et approbati a nobis.

(viz. The Proctors, the Moderators, and the other Exam-

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[1] It is hoped that no freedom of observation, in the foregoing or following pages, will be construed into personality. Not the least disrespect being intended towards any individual whatever.

iners.) The *caput* is then called for passing the supplicats of the Questionists.[1]

The name of each college is written on every supplicat, which is signed by the Praelector or Head Lecturer of the college.

A certificate is also given to the *Caput,* signed and sealed by the Master of the college (or his *Locum Tenens*) shewing that each Questionist has kept his full number of terms; if not, the deficiency is mentioned in the supplicat, and a certificate explaining the cause is delivered to the *Caput* by the Father.

The Registrar shews to the *Caput* that every candidate has subscribed that he is *bona fide* Member of the Church of England.

The Vice-Chancellor reads the supplicat to the Caput, and on those that are admited he writes *Ad.*

One of the Bedells carries the supplicats into the Non-Regent House, to be read by the Scrutators; and if all are approved, the Scrutators walk, and the senior says, *Omnes Placent.* But if any are disapproved of, he says, A. B. &c. *non placet, reliqui placent.*

Those supplicats are read separately, in which any cause is assigned for not keeping the whole number of terms; but those which are of the same kind, are read together in the usual manner.

A Bedell carries the supplicats to the Regent House, where the Senior Proctor reads them in the same manner as the Scrutators have done in the Non-Regent House. If all are approved of, the Proctors walk, and the senior says, *Placent Omnes, placent vobis ut intrent.* If any are disapproved of, he says as above.

The supplicats are then delivered to the Registrar, who writes on them, *Lect. et concess. die Jan.*

In the meantime, the Candidates, who during the whole proceedings of the Senate are usually in the saloon or gallery, put on their Hoods over their Undergraduates gowns, and the School-

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[1] For a King's man, who undergoes no examination for his Bachelor's degree, but claims it by a composition between the University and his college, no supplicat is offered. A grace is shown to the *Caput,* and read by the Senior Proctor in the Regent House only.

keeper gives to each of them a printed copy of the oath he is to take at his admission.

The Vice Chancellor takes the chair, and a Bedell having desired the respective Fathers to be in readiness with their Sons, he precedes the Father of the Senior Wrangler, (the rest of the Fathers following with their Sons) to the Vice-Chancellor.

The Father taking the Senior Wrangler by the right hand, presents him in these words:

Dignissime Domine, Domine Pro-Cancellarie, et tota Universitas; praesento vobis hunc juvenem, quem scio, tam moribus quam doctrino, esse idoneum ad respondendum questioni; idque tibi fide mea praesto, totique Academiae.

The Father of King's next presents his sons in the same manner. The Fellow-Commoners are then presented, and after them the Questionists of Trinity and St. John's; and then those of the other colleges, according to the seniority of the Fathers. Four or five may be presented—at once, the Father saying, Praesento vobis hos juvenes quos, &c.

As they are presented, they are directed by one of the Bedells to the south side of the Senate-House.

When all are presented, the Senior Wrangler takes the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the Senior Proctor (with his colleague standing by him) reads to him the printed oath:

Jurabis quod nihil ex iis omnibus, sciens, volens, praetermisiti, quae per leges aut probatas consuetudines hujus Academiae, ad hunc gradum, quem ambis adipiscendum, aut peragenda, aut persolvenda, requiruntur, nisi quatenus per gratiam ab Academia concessam tecum dispensatum fuerit. Jurabis etiam quod Cancellario, et Pro-cancellario nostro comiter obtemperabis, et quod statuta nostra, ordinationes, et consuetudines approbatas, observabis. Denique jurabis quod compositionem inter Academiam et collegium Regale factam sciens, volens, non violabis.

Ita te Deus adjuvet, et sancta Dei Evangelia.

A Bedell then calls four of the Fellow-Commoners, who take the same oath; the Senior Proctor saying, *Eadem Juramenta quae praestitit,* &c., and so on with all the Questionists, as their names stand in the list signed by the Proctors and the Examiners.

When all are sworn, the Vice-Chancellor goes to the front of the table, and the Proctors stand one on each side.

The Senior Wrangler, and all the other Questionists, follow one of the Bedells round the chair, and, as they pass by the table, they bow to the Vice-Chancellor and the Proctors.

The Vice-Chancellor returns to the chair, and the Senior Wrangler kneeling down, the Vice-Chancellor takes his hands between his own, and admits him in these words:

Authoritate mihi commissa, admitto te ad respondendum quaestioni; In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

The King's men, Fellow Commoners, and all the other Questionists, are then called by a Bedell, and admitted in the same manner.

As the Questionists are admitted, they go to the Sophs schools, to answer the Questions,[1] which are asked them by their respective Fathers.

When there is an end of the admissions, the Vice-Chancellor dissolves the Congregation.

First Tripos Day. On the after Ash Wednesday, at one o'clock, the bell rings for the first Tripos.[2]

At two the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors, &c., meet in the vestry of the University Church.

The whole company then proceed to the Law Schools; the Vice-Chancellor, &c., preceded by a Bedell, goes into the gallery; the senior Proctor with a Bedell into the Respondent's seat; and the Junior Proctor into the Opponent's seat.

Each of the Proctors makes a Latin speech, and the Tripos papers, which contain the names of the Wranglers and Senior

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[1] These questions are merely matters of form, usually something ridiculous, to which a *Nescio* is given.

[2] Some imagine Tripos to be denominated from the Tripod or stool, on which the orator mounted to declare the Honors. Others that it is derived from *Τρεις πους*, the three measures of gradations in the scale of Honors, viz.: Wranglers, Senior Optimes, and Junior Optimes. The tripos is now divided into two papers. On the first, appear the names of the Wranglers and Senior Optimes; on the second, the Junior Optimes.

Optimes of the year, and two Copies of Verses, written by two Undergraduates, whom the Proctors chuse to honor on this occasion, are distributed amongst the Under-graduates and the company present.

A Bedell reads from a Tripos paper; *Baccalaurei quibus sua reservatur senioritas comitiis prioribus.*

He then pronounces the name and college of the first Bachelor in the list; to which the Junior Proctor answers,

Nos reservamus ei senioritation suam.

To the second the Junior Proctor answers *et ei,* and so on to all the names on the Tripos paper.

When all the name are read, the Junior Proctor says,

Nos continuamus hanc disputationem in horam primam diei Jovis, post quartam dominicam hujus quadragesimae.

Second Tripos Day is on the Thursday after Midlent Sunday. The bell begins to ring at one.

The Moderators dressed in the Proctor's Congregation Habits, meet the Vice-Chancellor, &c., at the University Church, at two o'clock, and proceed to the Law Schools.

The Vice-Chancellor, &c., preceded by a Bedell, goes into the gallery; the Senior Moderator, with a Bedell into the Respondent's seat, and the junior Moderator into the Opponent's seat.

Each of the Moderators makes a Latin speech; and the Tripos papers, containing a list of the Junior Optimes of the year, and two copies of Verses, written by two Undergraduates at the request of the Moderators, are then distributed amongst the Undergraduates and company present.

A Bedell reads from a Tripos paper;

Baccalaurei quibus sua reservatur senioritas comitiis posterioribus.

He then reads the name and college of the first Bachelor, and the Junior Moderator answers,

Nos reservamus ei senioritatem suam.

To the second the Junior Moderator answers, *et ei,* and so on, as in the first Tripos.

When the last name has been read, he says,

Et ei; reliqui (*i. e., the* ὅι πολλοι, &c.) *petant senioritatem suam e registro.*

And lastly, *Authoritate qua fungimur, decernimus, creamus, et pronunciamus, omnes hujus anni determinatores, finaliter determinasse, et actualiter esse in artibus baccalaureos.*

To the above proceedings we shall add a few observations on the Impartiality which directs, and the Science which prevails in the Public Examinations. There are, as we have already observed,[1] six Public Examiners, men of the highest rank as to talents, learning, and ability; generally such as have appeared conspicuous in the Triposes of their respective years. These Examiners being selected from different colleges, it is absurdity to suppose that any bias or partiality to a particular man can possibly exist, for the whole would be detected by the discerning eye of the Candidates, as well as by the watchfulness and jealousy of the Fathers and the Masters of Arts constantly attending the proceedings in the Senate-House.

The office of the Examiners is extremely laborious, and there is no emolument or advantage, worthy of notice, resulting from the undertaking. The Honor therefore attached to these high and important offices, is such, as might naturally be expected from an University so prominent for liberality and erudition.

On the extent of Science, which is the subject of the Examinations, we may again observe, that it comprehends the lowest questions in Euclid and of Arithmetic, and, according to the capacities of the Students, is extended through every part of the Mathematics, Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy.

The advantage of these Examinations is apparent in the habit of study which they produce. The young men instigated either

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[1] *Cum Academine maxime intersit in examinationibus publicis sophiatarum aequi justique rationem tum haberi diligentissime tum habitam liquido patere. Placeat vobis ne cui unquam qui hisce examinationibus praefuerit post diem primum sequentis termini in tutelam suam pravatam liceat ad docendum recipere juvenem ullum qui proximis sit comitiis gradum baccalaurei in artibus suscepturus. Quod si quis contra hoc decretum peccaverit ab officio suo prorsus amoveatur.*" Stat. Acad., p. 438.

by the love of Honor to an industrious use of their time, or deterred by shame from a total waste of it, are, for the greater part, found busily employed, during their Undergraduateship, in Academical studies. Another advantage is seen in the filling up of the Fellowships and Public Offices of the University. A college is ashamed, in general, to elect into a Fellowship one who has not appeared in the first Tripos, which contains about thirty of the first men; and wherever they deviate from this rule, the interests of the college are sure to suffer.

The following is an extract from a publication, which has afforded us some useful articles: "we remember a college, where from compassion or good neighborhood, a man totally deficient in ability, and disqualified for study, was elected a Fellow. The natural consequences was, that he had an aversion to the high Men, and his companions were the worst in the college. He procured one of his own stamp to be elected a Fellow, and thus stupidity was making a great progress. These two naturally joined together their efforts to introduce a third man without honors, application or talents; and if it had not been for the strenuous resistance made by the Master and a few Fellows addicted to study, the college must soon have sunk into the extreme of mental debility. So perilous is it to introduce a stupid fellow into a seminary of learning, and the list of Honors has a natural tendency to prevent such a misapplication of the public funds. They who have enjoyed the highest Honors will naturally vote for high men; the Fools will vote only for the Fools."

THE FIRST PLAYHOUSE IN WILLIAMSBURG

(From York County Records.)

This indenture, made 4 December, 1745, Between George Gilmer of the City of Williamsburgh, Gent., of the one part, and the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Williamsburg of the other: whereas John Blair, Esq., Exor. of Archibald Blair's Will, by deed 20 Feb. 1735, did assign to said George Gilmer lots 163, 164 & 169, in plan of said City, being the lots and land whereon the Bowling Green formerly was and the Dwelling house & kitchen of William Levingston and the house called the Play house, for 155 pownds of lawful money of Virginia, to hold for the term of 500 years; and whereas the said George Gilmer for 50 Pownds to him in hand paid by certain persons whose names are subscribed to a Paper hereunto annexed did sell all his Right in the Playhouse, the ground whereon it stands, together with six feet of Ground adjoining to the said Play-house on every side &c:—this Indenture witnesses that the said George Gilmer (with the consent of said parties who have subscribed) has sold the property to the parties of the second part. Signed George Gilmer, Jn° Harmer, Mayor.

Witness John Blair, Junr Wm Buck, Edward Fuller, Jos^h^ Davenport.

To the Gentlemen Subscribers for the Play House in the City of Williamsburgh. The Corporation of the said City Shew:

That they have no Publick Building within the City wherein to hold their Common Halls & Courts of Hustings, but have hitherto used the Court House of James City County on Courtesie; That the Playhouse stands in a convenient Place for such uses, and has not been put to any Use for several years, and is now going to Decay; That the whole Money which has been gathering since the Corporation was first made proves deficient to erect a Prison for the City nor have they any way to raise Publick Money to build a Town House; whereupnon they shall

esteem, and always acknowledge it a singular Mark of your good Will and favour, if you will be pleased to bestow your present Useless House on this Corporation, for the use aforesaid, They intending to repair and alter it by their own Subscription, if this request shall be Granted.

We, the subscribers, being willing to encourage the City of Williamsburgh Do hereby freely give to the Corporation of that City the Shares & Interest we have in the Play House, standing there, according to the above request:

Subscribers Names	Subscribers Names
John Blair	Will: Gooch
B^{n} Harrison Junr	Philip Ludwell
Ralph Wormeley Esq	Benj^{a} Harrison
Nathan^{il} Harrison	Lewis Burwell, Jun
W. Beverley	John Grymes
Francis Willis	Henry Armistead
Robert Tucker	John Robinson
Ge: Braxton or Ge: Braxton, J^{r}	Phi: Lightfoot
Beverley Randolph	R^{d} Corbin
Thos Bray	Thos Lee
David Meade	Lewis Burwell
Edwd Digges	Ja^{s} Littlepage
Wilson Cary	Carter Burwell
Jos: Temple	Wm Nelson, Jun.
Peter Randolph	J. Mercer
	Ch: Carter

Ack. 16 December 1745

THE HONOR SYSTEM AT WILLIAM AND MARY

During the administration of John Augustine Smith (1814-1826) the College was reduced to a very low ebb, the total number of students in 1823-'24 being only 33. A movement was instituted to remove the College to Richmond, and permission from the Legislature was asked. The movement was defeated Among the depositions laid before the Legislature in opposition was one of John B. Seawell, a member of the Board of Visitors. It is interesting as showing the early prevalence of the honor system, and as indicating that among the causes of the decline of the College was the conduct of President Smith in setting it aside and introducing a system of espionage. President Smith resigned in 1826, and shortly after (in 1830) the Board itself passed a law which directed that the word of the student should be accepted without question. (Quarterly, XIV., 216; XVIII., 165-171.)

Questions: What in your opinion are the causes of the depression of the College of W^m^ & Mary?

Answ: Soon after Dr Smith came into the College, the professorships, in the estimation of the public being well filled, produce bearing a high price, & money being plenty, beyond example in our times, the number of students was so great as to flatter the friends of the institution that its prosperity would equal their fondest anticipations. Dr Smith brought with him his system for the government of the College, he manifested the greatest zeal to promote its interests, & a disposition appeared pretty general among the Visitors, to gratify him in every thing, he desired, or thought necessary, to insure success. Under the influence of this disposition, the acts of the convocation from that day to this, with but few exceptions, have either been suggested by Dr. Smith, or such as he approved. He applied to the Visitors to strengthen the arm of the faculty & a statute was passed authorising them to inflict the punishment of suspension or expulsion upon any student who refused to give evidence, upon his honor, against any other student who had committed any act in violation of the statute for the wholesome government of the College, or who refused to make a solemn declaration of his own

innocence. His system had been in operation but a short time before I was satisfied that it could not have the effect the D[r] had anticipated. His discipline appeared to me too severe for the youth of Virginia, more so than in my mind, it was desirable they should submit to. He went so far as to dismiss young men from the institution; without trial, without permitting them to be heard in their defense. He would meet a young man, who perhaps had been concerned in some frivolity, some indiscretion, some offence against the laws of the College (but which the youth believed to be known only by himself, & by those with whom he might have been associated) he would accost him after this manner, "you have done this (naming his offence) dont deny it, I can prove it upon you, you are dismissed the College." From this sentence there was no appeal. And I have been informed, from authority to be relied upon, that Professors have continued day after day to mark absent, at roll call, the youth thus dismissed for days after he had been at home with his friends. These dismissals I consider the first causes of the depression of the College, & altho' the Visitors, as soon as the practice came to their knowledge, put a stop to it, by passing a resolution that the President had no authority to inflict any punishment upon, or dismiss, any student from the College, unless by the sentence of the society, regularly pronounced, yet it was impossible to arrest the evils which have grown out of it. It was & long continued to be a fruitful source of disorder among the young men. They concluded naturally that they were beset by spies & informers. They could not look for those among their fellow students, they looked for them among the people of the town. If suspicion fell upon any person, that person was sure to feel their resentment. Many were from time to time suspected, and many rec[d] the punishment they most justly deserved if their suspicions were correct. Young men thus dismissed from the College, carried with them bitter feelings against the institution. These feelings were communicated to their friends. They raised up enemies to the institution. Those dismissed by the president were soon followed by others suspended or expelled, by the vote of the society in such numbers, that by many who viewed these things as a part of his system, the President was considered as

high handed & arbitrary, tyrannical in his disposition & inclined to magnify frivolity & indiscretion into crime. But when at one fell swoop twenty nine high minded & honourable young men were sent from the College, for asking justice at the hands of a professor in dignified language, the public mind became most strongly prejudiced against the institution, particularly its head, & was prepared to give currency to every rumour set afloat to the injury of the College. Whether true or false their effects were the same, where believed. Reports were spread abroad of the bickerings among the Professors. It was thought where these existed there could be no *pull together* for the promotion of science. It is true that there has been but little harmony among the professors since Dr Smith came into the College, yet I am satisfied that the accounts which have gone to the world of the dissentions among the faculty have been exaggerated. But true or false, they have had their effect so far as they have been believed. Dr Smith has been represented as entertaining & inculcating Deistical opinions. While I confess that I have no personal knowledge of his opinions in this respect, & believe that he abstains rigidly in his schools from meddling with religious subjects, yet I am satisfied that this report has operated very considerably to the depression of the College. I believe no man would, from choice, bring up his sons in these opinions, & am convinced that many believe the report. The doctrine which Dr Smith has inculcated, denying the right of instruction, has had its influence also. By many the entertaining such an opinion, would be considered the greatest misfortune that could befall a son. It has operated as a complete barrier to all preferment in the State. Dr Smith has declared at divers times, & to divers persons, that the College was in a declining state, must come to nothing, & more recently since the subject of the removal of the College has found its way into the public prints, has declared that unless it was removed he would abandon it, he being determined not to die with it. It is true that Dr Smith said at the time he acknowledged he had made these declarations, that they had been made to a few friends only, whom he thought he could trust. Yet it is believed that these were friends trustworthy indeed, & that these declarations, industriously circulated, with

a view of depressing the College and furthering its removal, have served very effectually to depress the College. At the close of the course in 1823 D[r] Smith considered the College, taking it all & all, in the most flourishing condition, or in as flourishing condition as, he had ever known it. Yet he sancti[oned] by his presence a report of the Visitors which was published in July 1824, by which it was declared that in July 1823, the College was in a depressed state. This served to injure the College. It is worthy of enquiry whether the high salaries of the professors, admitting they have not tended to cause them to relax in their exertions to fill the College, have not yet injured the institution materially in another way? Whether the habit of the Professors, after their labours are over, to take their families abroad, have not given rise to the reports, so industriously circulated of the unhealthiness of Williamsburg? When their salaries were low, Williamsburg was considered the most healthy spot in the lower Country. These reports have injured the College & altho' it be the fact that in the last twenty years together, when the students have avaraged more than fifty for each year, there have been but three deaths among them, one by drowning, another by suicide, & the third by disease, yet to this hour, the unhealthiness of the City of Williamsburg is urged as an objection to the College. The high price of board has served to depress the College, by keeping from it all who could not encounter its expense. For altho board can be had in Williamsburg upon terms the most moderate, yet the student who would avail himself of it, could not associate with him who was living sumptuously. Distinctions would arise. The low price of produce has had a great effect, the agitations of the question of removal of the College, the withholding of support to its schools by Richmond & the surrounding Country, have contributed in causing the depression of the College.

EDUCATION IN ELIZABETH CITY COUNTY.

William Creeke and Hannah, his wife, complayneth of Steephen Howard as marrying ye Widd^o^ Westoby hath not pformed an order of Court bearing date ye 10th of September, 1688, wherein Thomas Powell their sonn is bound an apprentice to ye said Howard's wife, It is therefore ordered y^t^ ye s^d^ Howard doe fforthw^th^ enter into bond wth security forthw^th^ to put ye s^d^ Apprentice to Schoole & learne him to Reade a Chapter in ye Bible & perform all other things menconed in ye s^d^ order of court, or otherwise to fforfeite & pay unto ye s^d^ apprentice when ffree 100^lb^ of Tobbaccoe.

17 November, 1725: Thomas Wilson and Mary Randall came into court and made oath that Thomas Davis was 14 years of age the 24th of October last, who not having estate sufficient to maintain him, It is ordered that he be bound an apprentice to Nicholas Parker till he attain the age of twenty one years, who is to teach him the trade of a Shoemaker, as also to have him taught to reade and write. It is further ordered that they sign Indentures before any justice of this county.

15 Dec., 1725.: Francis Berry is bound apprentice to Matthew Small till he is of age, the said Small obliges himself to learn him the trade of a taylor and to reade and write. The boy is eleven years of age.

16 February, 1725-'26. John Hicks is bound apprentice to George Minson to learn to reade & write, & the trade of a carpenter.

Elizabeth City County, March 2, 1763: Ordered that the churchwardens of this parish bind out the children of Joseph Boushell and John Lewis, according to law, it appearing to the court they have neglected their education.

Eaton's Free School Land.

15 May, 1737. Deed between the Comm^rs^ for the time present of the county of Elizabeth City & the minister & churchwardens for the time present of the parish of Elizabeth City in the aforesd

county of Elizabeth City, being the trustees for Eaton's Free School, leasing to Robert Armistead 193 acres, part of Eaton's Free School land, adjoining land leased to Merit Sweeney for the natural lives of Robert Armistead, William Armistead & James Armistead, sons of the said Robert Armistead:—the said Robt. Armistead & his heirs agree to build two tobacco houses, each to be 30 foot long & twenty foot wide, also two dwelling houses each to be 26 foot long & sixteen foot wide, or to build such other houses as shall be equivalent to them—the said houses to be well framed of good white oak or poplar timber—& to plant an orchard of 200 winter apple trees & to keep them well fenced & trimmed & to pay to the said trustees or their order during the said term the annual rent of 6 pds current money of Virg[a].

Tho. Tabb,	John Lowry
John Brodie,	Jacob Walker
Wm. Hunter	Jos. Bannister
Wm. Taylor	Wilson Cary
Jno. Tabb, Cw[n]	Merritt Sweeney
Will Westwood Cw[n]	Wilson Curle

NOTES FORM THE RECORDS OF YORK COUNTY.

(Continued from Vol. XXIII., p. 277.)

18 May, 1652—An order for setting a difference about some land seated by Sir Dudley Wyatt in his life time, belonging to Nicholas Seabrill; that Nicholas Brooke sen^{r} and Leonard Chamberlyn, Richard Abrall and John Davies survey the land & report to the court—they being convented & nominated by s^{d} Seabrill and Mr Wyatt, in behalf of Mr^{s} Ann Clarke, ex^{x} of Sr Dudley Wyatt.

John Chews' deed for Rachel Constable, whom he intends to make his wife. Witn: Tho: Bushrod, Nicholas Betts, Richd Gorsar.

Hugh Bullock, of London, Gent., to Wm Bullock, of London, Gent., his son. A deed (8 July 1637) for his property in Va. Mary Bullock, wife of Hugh Bullock. Thos. Ballard, cl. cur. (1652 ?)

Thomas Bourne, (his mark) of Peanchetank in Lancaster Co., sells to Simon Morley and Richd Hacker "Rich neck," on Peanketank river, granted to him 16 Sept. 1651. Dated 19 April 1652.

July the Three and Twentieth, 1652, Yorke in Virginia. "For the sume of 60 pds sterl. my plantation on South of Potomac River 1050 acres by patent 18 Oct., 1650," Wm Gooch sells to Mr Richard Cole. Witnesses: Wm Durand, Thomas Durand (his mark). Ack. by Mr Wm Gooch 23 Aug., 1652.

Samuel X Snead, of Queen Creek, to his dau. Susan, wife of Thomas Reynolds, 45 acres, adjoining his plantation. Dat. 23 Mch., 1652. Witn: Henry Collett, John Draper, Wm Bashly.

Benj: Powell sells to Alexander Hall & Wm Tapley plantation patented by his father Thos Powell, 6 Feb. 1635.

24. Sept., 1652. Will of Thos Gibson of Chesquack Parish:—bequeaths to Elizabeth, my wife, as much of the divident he lives on as lies within the neck, for her life, & the rest for use of his son Nicholas, during his minority, and after death of his wife the whole 900 acres to go to his son Nicholas; failing issue, to his

dau. Cassandra; 860 pds tob: to Margaret his sister, wife of Wm Blackey, due from Wm Burford: horses & mares to be equally divided between his wife, Nicholas his son & his dau. Cassandra; Nicholas to be of age at 18 & Cassandra at 20 or day of marriage. A gold ring to son & dau. left them by their godmothers; Cassandra to have the best fflock bed with Rug, Boulster and Pillow & the ffine payer of Holland Sheets & to each of them (son & dau.) a Pott & Pestle: my Bookes to my son, Nicholas. the two to have 1100 lbs tob. due by Geo. Smith; Mary & Jane, daus of his wife, to have 365 lbs of tob. rec^d^ this year of Henry Ashwell: Alice & Elizabeth, daus of my wife & at present living in England all the tob., due from Henry Ashwell: my Beaver hatt to brother-in-law Wm Blackey. His wife to have all the remainder of his personal estate & to be guardian of his children: Wm Blackey to have the oversight of them: Elizabeth, his wife, to be ex^x^: Bee Humphreys to be free, & released from any former neglect. Witnesses: Jno Whiston (his mark.), Bees Humphreys. Rec: 20 Sept. 1652.

Nicholas Brooke, the elder, sells to Samuel ffenne of Martin's Hundred 500 acres of land, pat^d^ by Nich: Brooke the younger, 30 Aug. 1646, formerly granted to Richard Popeley & confirmed to him by order of Council 6 June 1639, purchased by Henry Brooke of said R. P. 16 Mch. 1643, & conveyed by H. B. to N. B. the younger—March, 1645, & by said N. B. younger conveyed to H. B. Sen. 12 July, 1649, commonly called the Middle Plantation; To begin att the Creek upon the old Pallasadoes, for length unto the Land of Capt. Robert Hickenson claimed, and for breadth unto the fforest. Witnessed by Wm Spencer, Jno. Atkins X his mark Rec. 25 Oct., 1652.

Richard Major, Boot-wright, sells to Daniel Park, of Martin's Hundred, 200 acres on Queen's creek due by patent, dated 17 Jan. 1650. Witn: Robt Ellison, Robt Tyrrell, Wm Parke. Rec. 13 Dec. 1652.

Patent to John King, for transporting seven servants, 500 acres at mouth of Poropotank Creek, 19 Nov. 1649.

Patent to Robt Abrall, gent., 300 acres on west side of Mattapony River, 3 April, 1651. Sold to Robert Booth 24 May, 1651. Sold

by R. B. to Xpher Garlington & Elizabeth his daughter, now of the New Poquosin, 19 Jan. 1657. Recorded all these instruments, Jan. 1652.

Patent to Mrs. Ann Harwood 300 acres in Charles River, north upon Utie's Creek, East upon the Glebe land, South upon the land of Capt Robt Felgate & West & by South into the woods: formerly granted to John Wayne by patent, July 10, 1638, assigned to Robert Booth, by him to Capt Stephen Gill, & purchased by Capt. Thomas Harwood of s^{d} Gill as appears by his deposition & also by order of Quarter Court 13 Oct., 1652. Dated 15 Oct., 1652.

Capt Stephen Gill's sale of 1000 acres to Peter Richeson; acknowledged March 24, 1657.

Wm Sawyer's patent for 100 acres on South of Indian Bridge Branch, running out of West's Creek upon Charles River, bounded upon the great swamp at head of the Creek & soe the bread of the hundred acres & to run downward wth the true length into the woods; dated 13th Feb. 1642. Rec. 24 March, 1652.

Coll. George Ludlow sells 500 acres on N. side of Charles River, called Tyndall's Neck, to Robert Beal, part of 4000 acres bought by George Ludlow & William Whitby of Argall Yeardley, Esq: Witn: Thomas Ballard; formerly assigned to said Beale & this intended as a confirmation. Dat. Feb. 1652; Rec. 6 April 1653. This tract assigned by Beale to Robt Todd & by Todd to John Banister 23 Jan. 1652. Rec. 4 Ap. 1653.

Hanah Clarke's deed to Dr. Jeremiah Harrison, gent., 300 acres on Queen's creek, left by Sir Dudley Wyatt to said Hannah, by will dated 29 March 1650 & recorded in the Secretaries office at James City 25th day of Sept. 1651. This deed dated 21 March, 1652; rec. 24 March, 1652. Wit: Robert Leonard, Robert Bouth. Land originally patented by Capt. Stephen Gill 26 7ber, 1636.

Edmund Peters had 60 acres adjoining Henry Lee in 1652.

Mem: "that on or about the moneth of Oct. in the yeare of our Lord God 1652, Nicholas Harrison, of Virginia, Planter, did make his last will and Testament in anticipation &c.; gave all his estate to his mother Dorothy Harrison &c." Jane Persons X, Elizabeth Chambers; both sworne before Thomas Bennett, Ma^{r} in Chancery.

Will of Stephen Gill X his mark: His son, Stephen, to have plantacon he now lives on: All the rest of my visible estate to be equally divided after debts are paid between his wife and children; Capt Wm Taylor & Mr Francis Morgan overseers, wife to have the governing and tuition of his children till they come of 18 yrs of age dated 15 July 1646. Rec. 2^d^ August, 1653.

Capt. Stephen Gill's Inventory, Values 33559 pd. tob. 2 Aug., 1653.

Wm Taylor sells to Henry Corbell 1250 acres purchased of Mr John Utie, lying by and adjoyning west upon the land where the said Henry is now seated (in Gloucester). Dated 7 Jan. 1641.

Will of Robert Wilkinson (R); 2 children Sarah Wilkinson & my young son unbaptized. Thomas Bate son-in-law; Robert Cobbs to have charge of his children. Mr Daniel Park & Mr Peter Efford my overseers. Dates 4 May, 1655. Proved 4 June, 1655.

Will of Wm Hawkins of York pish. & co: wife Sarah, son-in-law Argoll Blackstone. After his wife's decease Argall Blackstone to pay the churchwardens of Yorke Parish 1500 pds. tob. of good mercht. tob: for a silver flagon for the use of the inhabitants of Yorke pish: godson John Wright, sonn of Edwd Wright, a two year old Heifer.

Witn: John Humphreys, X his mark, Jer: Hope. Tho. Ballard cl. cur. Recorded 25th Junii, 1655.

George Reade sells 100 acres at Middle Plantation to John Page, 25 June, 1655. Witn: Wm Barber, Daniel Parke. Land granted to Capt. Robert Higginson by Nicholas Brooke & by Wm Bernard & Lucy, his wife, dau. of Capt. Higginson, sold to said George Reade on 24 Nov., 1653.

A probate of the last will and testament of James Orchard (nuncupative), granted to his widow Anne Orchard, July 25, 1655.

Patent to Robert Vaus upon Queen's Creek of 400 acres along Hartwell's Creek s. s. w., and w., upon land formerly Mr. Bouth's, & 150 acres additional, on south side of Queen's creek, adjoining another tract of said Vaus, and along the land of Capt. Taylor, Esq.—the said land formerly granted to said Vaus. Recorded August 24, 1655. Assigned to Jerom Ham, Gent.,

June 26, 1654. Witnesses, Robert Bouth, Henry Blagrave, Humphrey Vaus. Again Acknowledged in court April 24, 1657, by Mrs. Frances Vaus, wife of Robert Vaus.

Order that Mrs. Mary Bassett possess the estate of Capt. Robert Felgate, as heir to said decedent: Major William Barber, security; Sept. 24, 1655.

William Hay, of the New Poquoson, who hath lately married Margery Griggs, widow of John Griggs decd, records a gift to the two children of John Griggs—John and Margery. "And the said William Hay and Margery, his wife, are to bring up the sd. children in good educacon and learning and allow them sufficient meats &c. without any charge to the children's estates." Witn: John Chiesman, Wm. Whitcock. Dated March 27, 1655, recorded 20 Sept. 1655.

Will of "Capt. Robert ffelgate, of Virginia, gent., now here resident in sick & week estate" &c. Revokes a former will made before his departure out of Virginia. His ex^{x} to pay his debts, especially to pay to his brother William ffelgate, of the city of London, skinner, 60 pds. of lawful money of England: Thomas Newton, my grandchild, now resident in Holland all my plantacons in Virginia to hold the same after he becomes 21 forever; in the meantime my ex^{x} to receive the rents & enjoy the lands &c. during her natural life, afterwards sd property to his gr. son Thomas Bruton. But should his wife depart this life, the sd. Thomas not attaining the age of one and twenty yeares, to have and enjoy the sd. premises aforementioned nor leave any Issue of his body lawfully begotten to injoy the same their plantation &c. to go to the children of William ffelgate, my brother.

To my servant, Mary Hayes, three-score acres & 500 lbs. tob. of the country growth & soe much corne to keep hir one whole year together with 4 head of cattle & I doe remitt unto hir the tearm of years She hath to serve me and to be att her own disposure &c: Wife to keep premises in repair & commit no devastation; residue of my personal estate to go to my wife Sibella, whom I make sole Ex^{x}. Dated the last day of Sept. 1640. Witnesses: Edward Ball, Robt Hay; Richd Barber. Scr., London.

Copied out & exam. ℔ Nicho: Merriwether Cl.; record^{d}: 25° 7 ber, 1655.

Will of Doctoris Christmas: cow calf to maid Rebecca & to my man Robert a cow calf. Nicholas, servant to Peter Starkey a cow calf; one year of hir time to Rebecca or a cow at the end of her time: All the residue of his estate to Peter Starkey. Wife sole ex^{x}; Peter Starkey & Henry ffreeman overseers. Dated 20 Dec., 1654.

Will of Alexander Hall: dau. Elizabeth land on the southside & 8 breeding cattle: My wife to have the benefit of all my land, until my dau. be of age, my s^{d} wife allowing my said child maintenance & scholeing out of it. Coll: Calthorpe & Mr John Hunt to be overseers. Witn: Tho: Haynes, Jno Cachell. Dated 16 Nov., 1655.

Will of John fflowers: X his mark.

Gyles X Taverner's Will, dated Nov. 18, 1655. Sons Mihill, Michael, William—legacies of stock to them. His two eldest sons to "keepe and maintaine there younger Brother to schoole out of the whole stock for 2 years. "I likewise give unto John Parsons six pence by ridding him from intermeddling with any of the estate belonging to any of the Taverno^{rs}; one heifer to his god dau., Elizabeth Merryman; to servant Isaack Embrey, after his time of apprentiship, one heifer & one sow. Teste William Starkey. Proved 1655.

Deed of Robert Wylde to Philip Chesley ½ of 480 acres purchased of Mr Joseph Croshaw, being part of a patent granted to him 20 June, 1646, with use of ½ the tobac. houses thereon, & also ½ of 100 acres called the great neck with the dwelling house, formerly pat. by s^{d} Wilde & Robert Chesley. Dated 18 Jany, 1655. Witnesses Daniell Wyld, Richard fford. Ack. by Robert Wi^{l}d, Jan'y 25th, 1655.

A division of land between Alexander Hall, cooper, and William Powell & Mary, his wife, in behalf of John Tapley, son of Wm Tapley, decd. & of Mary, the now wife of Wm Powell. Dated 25 Oct. 1655.

Benj. Powell's grant to Wm Powell, his brother, land in Poquoson. Assigned by the latter to John Barker 12 Dec. 1653, & by last to Thos. Heynes, & by Heynes to George Moseley. 31 Dec. 1655. Thomas Pinketham living in 1653.

Joseph Croshaw, Gent., out of natural affection, gives to Ralph Graves & Rachel, his wife, 1000 acres of land in New Kent, easterly on Capt. John West Esqr's land. S. on Coll. Wm Claiborne's &c. Dated 23 Dec. 1654; ack.: 24 Aprill, 1656.

Will of Nicholas Commins: Son Nicholas all my land after wife's death: failing heirs, to my dau. Elizabeth Harrison, wife of Robert Harrison & her 3 children: wife Ellen ex^{x}; the orphan Elizabeth Hooper (that I keepe) one cow calf at Robert Harrison's. Eliz: H. & her 3 children every one a gold Ring of 24 shillings. Wife & son-in-law Robert Harrison overseers. Witns: Robert Harrison his mark, Jeffrey Moore, Nicholas Comins N. C. his mark. Proved 24 April, 1656.

Will of Thomas Ray: son Thomas R. to have land att New Poquoson & at Mop-Jack Bay; failing heirs, to Christmas Ray; failing heirs, to Mary Ray; to his son Thomas an Indian Girl, 2 cows, 2 calves, I Turkey rugg, 1 pott & one Pestle: residue to my wife Mary, son Christmas & dau. Mary, to be equally divided: a hoghead of tobacco for a sermon preached at the New Poquoson Church, some Sabbath day; gr. son Thomas Coleman one cow-calfe; dau Anne Skipworth one cow calfe. Mr Thomas Kirby, Peter Starkey & Henry ffreman overseers. Witn: Henry Freeman, Tho. (R.) Ray. Thos: Kirby his mark, Peter Starkey. Pr. 24 June, 1653.

(To be continued.)

A WASHINGTON AND LANIER LINE.

John Washington of Surry Co., Va., and Mary Ford, widow.

Richard Washington (born 1660; died 1725) and Elizabeth Jordan.

Elizabeth Washington and Sampson Lanier (born 1682; died 1743-'44).

Sampson Lanier and Elizabeth Chamberlain.

Winnifred Lanier and Col. Drury Ledbetter.

Susan Washington Ledbetter and Major Thomas Martin.[1]

Eliza Washington Martin and Captain Richard Oldham.[2]

Penelope Oldham and William A. Violett.[3]

Atwood Violett (living 1915), of New Orleans and New York, and Olga Quentell.

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[1] Major Thomas Martin, of Albemarle Co., was an original member of the Order of the Cincinnati, and first commandant of Newport Barracks, Kentucky.

[2] Capt. Richard Oldham, of the Seventh United States Infantry.

[3] William A. Violett, of Alexandria, Va., removed to New Orleans 1838, and was a very successful merchant.

POPE ANCESTRY.

A deed dated Febr. 22, 1775, recorded in Book No. 13, page 247, Halifax Court House, North Carolina, from Burwell Pope, of Wake Co., N. C., to Nicholas Long, gives the following facts: Col° Barnaby McKinnie, late of Edgecombe Co., province of North Carolina, deceased, died seized of certain land in Halifax Co., formerly Edgecomb Co. By his will dated August 30, 1777, [The deed gives the date 1777, but as the deed was made in 1775, this is evidently a mistake] he gave this land to his daughter Mourning in fee tail. His said daughter intermarried with John Pope, and had issue by him to wit: Henry Pope, since which said Henry Pope is dead, and said land has descended to Burwell Pope, in fee tail. By an inquisition taken before William Branch, sheriff of Halifax Co., Dec. 30, 1774, by virtue of a writ issued from the Secretary's office and signed by James Parrott, deputy Secretary of said office, Wm. Watson, James Faucett, Edward Moreland, Francis Moreland, Richard Baratt, Michael Aaron, Peter Aaron, John Smith, John Gunter, Patrick Garland, John Phillips and Peter Brown were sworn, and having received the same, valued 200 acres of land of said Burwell Pope, whereof he is seized in fee tail, at 50£ sterling and do say that it was not a parcel of, or contiguous to other entailed lands of said Burwell Pope, nor its sale of any prejudice to the King. Wherefore, the said Burwell Pope and Priscilla, his wife, for 380 pounds proclamation money, paid by said Nicholas Long, bargains and sells to said Long the said 200 acres, situated in Halifax Co. on the south side of the Roanoke river, and bounding on Nicholas Long's line formerly Richard McKinnie's &c.

THE LEE FAMILY OF YORK COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

In 1647 Mr. Henry Lee obtained from the Court of York a certificate for 250 acres of land, as due him on account of the importation of five persons into the Colony—John Lee, Henry Lee, Elizabeth Blashfield, Anne Russell and Thomas Johnson. July 25, 1648, the following persons were present as justices of York County: Capt. Nicholas Martian, Mr. Hugh Gwin, Capt. Ralph Wormeley, *Mr. Richard Lee,* Mr. Francis Morgan, Mr. Rowland Burnham, Mr. Augustine Warner, *Mr. Henry Lee,* and Mr. Francis Willis.

These were the important men of the county, and several of them—Ralph Wormeley, Richard Lee, Augustine Warner, and Francis Willis—became members of the Council. In those days "Mr." was a term of respect. Ordinary people had no handle to their names.

It will be observed that Mr. Henry Lee sat on the same bench with Mr. Richard Lee; and Mr. Richard Lee was a burgess for York Co. in 1647 and Mr. Henry Lee was burgess in 1652. This close connection might suggest close relationship, but there is still other evidence. Richard Lee was surety for Henry Lee in a bond recorded Sept. 25, 1646, to indemnify Mrs. Sibella Felgate, widow of Capt. Robert Felgate, decd., for turning over to Henry Lee nine cattle belonging to John Adkins. The bond explains that those cattle were formerly in the custody of Capt. Robert Felgate, who married the mother of the said John Adkins, brother of Marah, the wife of the above named Henry Lee. (See WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, IV., pp. 37, 38.) Felgate's Creek received its name from Captain Robert Felgate, who, with his brother, Tobias Felgate, a well known ship captain, patented land now know as "Ringfield," in the neck made by Felgate's Creek and King's Creek as they enter York River.

Richard Lee moved to Northumberland County, and was ancestor of the eminent family of the Lee name resident for a long time in Westmoreland County, and numbering among its

members Richard Henry Lee, the orator of the revolution, and Robert E. Lee, the hero of the Civil War (1861-1865).

In 1648 Richard Lee patented 1,250 acres on the north side of York River, and among those for whom he claimed land were *Henry,* Matthew and George Lee. The Colony at that time encouraged emigration by granting fifty acres for every person imported, and this right was called "a headright." Later there was a Robert Lee, of Gloucester County, who got out a patent for land originally patented in part by Richard Lee. In his will Richard Lee describes himself as of "Stratford-Langton in the County of Essex, Esquire," but his line in England has never yet been traced.

It is also to be noticed that the bond of Henry and Richard Lee above mentioned was witnessed by William Lee, who was a physician and merchant in York County. In 1660 George Lee, "Citizen and Grocer of London" appointed his "brother" George Underwood, then resident at London, and sent him to Virginia, as his lawful attorney to collect all dues and debt remaining in the hands of "my *brother* William Lee or Christopher Harris or any other person or persons in Virginia." Christopher Harris also lived in York County.

George Lee was a London merchant, who dealt largely with Virginia. He was probably the George Lee, who Col. Richard Lee numbered among his headrights in 1648. After residing in Virginia for sometime and patenting lands in York County he returned to England. After George Underwood (probably a brother-in-law), he had as his agent in Virginia Robert Whitchare in 1661, then Daniel Park, and in 1674 he appointed Captain Richard Johnson, of New Kent, his successor. He shipped servants and goods, and brought back tobacco, and among the servants sent over by him were two nephews John Jones and John Symons. (William and Mary College Quarterly, XI., 35, 37.)

It seems probable that Richard Lee, Henry Lee, Robert Lee, William Lee, John Lee, Matthew Lee and George Lee were all kinsmen, and researches in England may yet establish the kinship.

1 HENRY LEE died about 1657, when accounts of his estate were entered in York County. George Wale married the widow.* Later in 1662 Thomas Haynes was guardian of Mary and Sarah, "orphans of Mr. Henry Lee."

Issue of Henry Lee: 2 *Henry,* 3 Mary, 4 Sarah.

2 HENRY[2] LEE (*Henry*[1]) came of age in 1666, and was a physician and farmer. In 1688 he sold to Isaac Collier a tract of land adjoining Robert Potter's land, which was to be held "according to the ancient bounds Mr. Henry Lee, Sr., father unto the said Henry Lee held it." He married Alice, the only daughter and heiress of William Davis, and his will dated April 23, 1693, was proved May 24, 1693. In this will he named his wife Alice and sons 5 *William,* 6 Henry, who came of age in 1707 when his estate was paid him, and who was living in 1711 when he preferred an account for carpenter's work.

Alice Lee, the widow, who married 2dly. before January 10, 1694, Richard Wood, took an inventory that day of the personal estate of her late husband. Among the articles were "a pair of small scales a small box & weights and a chirurgeon's box."

5 WILLIAM[3] LEE (*Henry,*[2] *Henry*[1]) requested the court in 1696 to appoint Mr. William Wade, his guardian, which was so done. Under his father's will, he heired the manor plantation. In 1712 he preferred a claim for 23 days carpenter's work done by his apprentice on the Battery at Yorktown, under the supervision of Edward Powers. He lived on his estate in Yorkhampton Parish, and married Anne ——— (probably Harrison), and his will dated October 12, 1728, and proved Dec. 13, 1728, names his children 7 *Francis,* to whom he gave all his lands, 8 Anne, who married Hunter, 9 Sarah, who married 1st Matthew Harris (died 1727), and had William Harris; married, 2dly., Edward Baptist (named in William Lee's will) and had Lee Harris, named as "son" in will of Elizabeth Baptist (2d wife of Edward Baptist). See Wood, *Albemarle Co.,* p. 219 and Wills of Edward and Elizabeth Baptist proved in 1747 and 1748.

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* This surviving wife may not have been Marah Adkins. Henry Lee may have had another wife, as frequent marriages were a characteristic of our ancestors.

7 Francis[4] Lee (*William,*[3] *Henry,*[2] *Henry*[1]) lived on the land of his ancestors in Yorkhampton parish called "Chiskiack or Cheescake," after the Indian tribe of that name, who inherited the country west of Yorktown in 1607. He married, and his will dated 30 March, 1752, was proved Dec. 17, 1753. In it he names his children 10 *William Lee,* eldest son, and heir at law, to whom he gave "the plantation whereon I now live," 11 Henry, "all his land in Warwick Co.", 12 *Francis,* who is under age, land in York County "for his life," whereon Mary Crockett now lived, four negroes, and to be maintained by his brothers William and Henry "in good board, clothes and schooling at their own proper costs." Under the law as it stood then, all the York County land in the end would have vested in William Lee.

After this time the York County Records have for forty years but few notices of the Lees, the reason being that they preferred to reside in Warwick County, adjoining York. I find that William and Francis Lee were both living there in 1758, and that in 1786 Francis Lee was one of the Overseers of the Poor and that Mr. William Lee was "late churchwarden of the Upper Precincts of Warwick County."

There was a John Lee, however, who continued to reside in York. In 1769 he brought suit against one John Hilton. He was probably a son of 6 Henry[3] Lee, son of Henry[2] Lee. According to an order recorded March 18, 1834, in York Court, this John Lee was an officer in the War of the Revolution and died in February, 1821, leaving issue: (1) Aphra, who married William Scott, (2) Elizabeth, who married Charles Hansford, (3) Sarah, who married Walker Hubbard, (4) Martha, who married Robert P. Shelburn and (5) Lavinia, who married Filmer Clark(who died before the date of the order).

On July 16, 1781, certificate was granted by York County to William and Francis Lee for obtaining letters of administration on the estate of their brother Henry Lee, deceased.

10 William[5] Lee (*Francis,*[4] *William,*[3] *Henry,*[2] *Henry*[1]) lived in Warwick County and died about 1795. His will cannot be found, but as he was his father's eldest son and heir and inherited his land, he must have been father of Francis Lee, Jr., of "Chis-

kiack," York Co. Issue seven sons: 13 *Francis Lee*, and the brothers named in his will dated July 26, 1798, 14 *Higginson Wade Lee*, 15 *William W. Lee*, 16 *Haynes Lee*. Family statements indirectly supported by the county records add three other sons, 17 *Whitaker Lee*, 18 *John Lee*, 19 *Robert Lee*.

13 FRANCIS[6] LEE, son of William Lee, was inspector of tobacco at York warehouse, in 1794, Overseer of the Poor in 1795; married in 1783 Rachel Baptist, daughter of Edward Baptist, of York Co., and Margaret Harwood, his wife, daughter of Col. William Harwood, of Warwick Co., member of the House of Burgesses; left issue by his will dated July 26, 1798: 20 *William Lee*, 21 Jane Whitaker Lee, 22 Dorothy, 23 Margaret Harwood Lee. William W. Lee was executor of Francis Lee's will and guardian of his children William and Margaret Harwood Lee. On August 20, 1799, John and William W. Lee were acting executors.

20 WILLIAM[7] LEE, son of Francis Lee and Rachel Baptist, his wife, came of age about 1809, when he married Elizabeth Wynne (born March 3, 1792), daughter of his uncle Higginson Lee and Elizabeth Wynne, daughter of Thomas Wynne and had issue Anne Miller Lee, born Nov. 28, 1807, died Nov. 1, 1833, 24 William (Warren), born 1809, died January 24, 1900, aged ninety-one without issue, 25 Francis (Harrison) born 1814, died August 10, 1875, who married Sarah Lee, half sister of Edward Lee, of Wiliamsburg, but died without issue.

William Lee, father of these children died before January 16, 1815, when the widow Elizabeth, with Haynes Lee and William Lee, as sureties, gave bond in York County to administer her husband's estate. January 19, 1818, John R. Lee, and Elizabeth Lee, his wife, brought suit against Ann, Francis and William Lee, infant children of William Lee deceased. By this second marriage with John R. Lee Elizabeth Wynne Lee had Henry Harwood Lee (born 1819), who married Vestilla Armstrong (born 1831, died 1886) of Essex Co., and they were parents of William Warren Harrison Lee (born Feb. 26, 1857) the present owner of "Chiskiack," to whom the place came from his half uncles, 24 William (Warren) Lee, and 25 Francis (Har-

rison) Lee. "Chiskiack" is one of the few estates in Virginia that has continued uninterruptedly in the family (since the original patent to Henry Lee, the emigrant from England). In 1810 this estate was assessed at 246 acres.

14 HIGGINSON W.[6] LEE, son of William Lee, married in 1787, Elizabeth Wynne (born 1765, died March 25, 1799), daughter of Thomas Wynne, of York Co. (Marriage bond in WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY, I., 56) and had issue: 26 William, born Feb. 4, 1789, 27 Elizabeth Wynne, born March 3, 1792, who married as above stated, first William Lee, of "Chiskiack" and 2dly. John R. Lee, 28 Thomas, born Jan. 17, 1796, 29 Lucy, born June 8, 1798. (Family Bible). In a chancery suit in 1817 in York Co., in which the Wynnes and Lees were concerned, one-fifth part of a tract of land was assigned to William, Thomas and Elizabeth Lee, then the wife of John R. Lee, in right of their mother Elizabeth Lee, formerly Elizabeth Wynne. Higginson Lee died in Warwick Co. before 1816. His name implies a connection with the Higginson family of James City County, who were descended from a Capt. Christopher Higginson, brother of Col. Humphrey Higginson, a member of the Governor's council in 1641, and who an old record says was "a near kinsman of the Bishop of Ely."

15 WILLIAM WHITAKER[6] LEE, son of William Lee, lived in Warwick Co. He was executor of Francis Lee, of "Chiskiack," and guardian of his children and died about 1814, when, by the terms of his will, Robert Lee, as shown by the assessor's books, succeeded to his estate in York Co., 122 acres. In 1816, "Haynes Lee, who was executor of William W. Lee, who was executor of Higginson W. Lee" sued Kemp Charles in Warwick Co.

16 HAYNES[6] LEE, son of William Lee, was a resident of Warwick Co., and died about 1816. He married ——— Harwood, and had issue: 30 *Higginson H.*, 31 Elizabeth Naylor Lee, married Graves, 32 Martha Lee, married Frederick Bryan and moved to Indiana before 1838.

30 HIGGINSON H.[7] LEE, son of Haynes Lee, married his first cousin Ann Eliza Lee, daughter of Whitaker Lee, and had 33

Ann Elizabeth, who married John Lightfoot, of New Kent, 34 William Whitaker Lee, married, but left no issue, 35 Watkins, died in infancy, 36 Mattie Eliza, died in infancy. (Mrs. Rosa M. Bowden's statement.)

17 WHITAKER[6] LEE, son of William Lee, born in Warwick County, married Ann Kirby in 1806, and had three sons and four daughters: 37 Ann Eliza, married Higginson H. Lee, son of Haynes Lee, 38 Robt. Goodwin Harwood, b. 1811, md. Margaret Burnham, 39 Matilda, born 1813, married Francis Burnett, of New Jersey, 40 John Henry Mortimer, born 1819, married Sarah Miles Burnham, of Warwick Co., and was father of Mr. Charles Lee now resident in Williamsburg, 41 Francis, died infant, 42 Malvina Peyton, died unmarried, 43 Rosalia Adeline, born 1822, married Johnson Sands, of Williamsburg, son of Thomas Sands (born 1767; died and is buried at Chiskyack churchyard). Thomas Sands had issue: Thomas, Johnson, William G., Alexander H. (prominent lawyer of Richmond) LeRoy Skinner, Eliza, who married Charles Matthews, and Sidney A. Sands, who married William Burnham. Rosalia Adeline (Lee) Sands, was mother of Mrs. Rosa M. Bowden, widow of Thomas Russell Bowden, of Williamsburg. She is still living.

18 JOHN[6] LEE, son of William Lee, lived in Warwick County and married in 1792 Lucy Wynne, daughter of Thomas Wynne, of York Co. (Marriage bond in WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, I., p. 56.) In the chancery decree between the Wynnes and Lees, in 1817, already mentioned his children are given as (1) Mary P. Lee, (2) Thomas.

19 ROBERT[6] LEE (otherwise Robert H. Lee, of Warwick Co.) died in 1834, aged 68, married first Jane Shepherd, secondly Sarah, daughter of John Kirby, and had (1) Edward, died unmarried, (2) William, died unmarried, (3) Shepherd, killed in 1831 in Nat Turner's Insurrection, aged 24, (4) Mary, married George Jones, (5) Jane, married James Kirby, (6) Richard Decatur, who owned "Lee Hall" in York Co., (7) Sarah, married Allen Davis: Issue sons Robt. Lewis, Philip P., Shepherd, Richard Lee; daughters Martha Jones, Mary Francis, married Christian, Columbia, married Thomas Harwood, Sarah, Elizabeth and Lelia.

11 HENRY[5] LEE (*Francis,*[4] *William,*[3] *Henry,*[2] *Henry*[1]), died in 1781, when as already shown his brothers, William and Francis Lee, obtained administration on his estate. His personalty was appraised and valued at £572, 12s, 6d. He married Elizabeth ———, and is said to have lived at "Lee Hall," Warwick Co. Issue, as appears from entries in a Bible, which, however, do not appear to be altogether contemporary: 44 John Roger Lee, born at "Lee Hall," Warwick Co., 1773, 45 Sarah H., "daughter of Henry Lee and Elizabeth, his wife," died Oct. 18, 1774, married John Power, 46 probably Henry, who married Elizabeth Harwood, daughter of Col. Edward Harwood and Elizabeth Reade, his wife, a descendant of Col. George Reade of the Council, who died in 1671.

44 JOHN ROGER LEE, son of "Henry Lee, married about 1816, Elizabeth Wynne Lee, daughter of Higginson Lee and Elizabeth Wynne, his wife, and widow of William Lee, of "Chiskiack," and had (1) Elizabeth R. Lee, born March 11, 1819, died Oct. 16, 1849, (2) Henry Harwood Lee, died Aug. 25, 1886, and (3) Lucy Harwood Lee.

12 FRANCIS[5] LEE (*Francis,*[4] *William,*[3] *Henry,*[2] *Henry*[1]) lived in Warwick County, married Elizabeth ———, and died about 1794, leaving issue: 47 *John Lee,* 48 *William H. Lee,* 49 Humphrey, a school teacher, 50 Francis. This is shown by the assessor's books in the auditor's office, which has this statement for the year 1794: "Elizabeth Lee from Francis Lee, deceased, by will, 642 acres; John Lee from ditto by ditto 215½ acres; William H. Lee from ditto by ditto 215½ acres." And in 1816 the tract of 642 acres given to the widow Elizabeth was assessed equally to Humphrey and Francis Lee (321 acres apiece), which shows that they must have been her sons.

47 JOHN[6] LEE, son of Francis Lee, of Warwick Co., died before 1812, leaving two children (1) Mary Lee, who married her first cousin, Edward Presson Lee, and (2) Thomas Lee, Sr.

48 WILLIAM H.[6] LEE, son of Francis Lee, of Warwick County, married Martha (Presson?) and had six children: 51 Lewis, 52 Mary, 53 *Baker Perkins,* 54 Edward Presson, who married Mary Lee, daughter of John Lee, of Warwick Co., 55 Francis

W. Lee, 57 William Presson Lee. This is shown by the books in the Auditor's office for the year 1817, when William H. Lee's estate of 215½ acres was assessed—24½ acres to Martha Lee, of Warwick Co., as "dower from William H. Lee's estate," and the balance, 191 acres, assessed equally (31 5-6 acres apiece) to the six persons named, Lewis Lee, &c. In the York Records, in 1823, Martha Lee, guardian of Mary and Francis Lee, "orphans of William H. Lee," for the benefit of William Presson Lee, brings suit for a negro boy. Then there is a deed dated April 13, 1727, from Edward P. Lee, William Lee, Francis W. Lee and William Presson Lee to Baker P. Lee, for all their right and title in the estate of which "our deceased brother Lewis Lee died possessed."

53 BAKER P. LEE, son of William H. Lee, was born in Warwick County in 1790, and in 1817 was residing in Norfolk. He was afterwards a merchant in Yorktown, in partnership with his brother Lewis till Lewis' death in 1827, and afterwards continued the store. In 1833 he was one of the justices of York County and continued in this office for many years. He died in 1866. He married Frances Curtis Wills, daughter of Matthew Wills, one of the justices of Warwick Co. He had issue: 56 *Baker P. Lee,* 57 Mattie, married William L. Young, 58 Willis Lee, of Baltimore, all three of whom joined, in 1880, in conveying "Washington's Lodge," near Yorktown, to the Old Dominion Land Company.

56 BAKER P.[8] LEE, son of Baker P. Lee, Sr., was born at Yorktown, March 12, 1830, was major in the Confederate army and a member of the General Assembly. He married Mary E. Simpkins, daughter of Dr. Jesse Harvey Simpkins and had issue: 59 Rev. Baker P. Lee, of California, 60 Goodwin, of New York, 61 Arthur, of Newport News, 62 Francis, of Newport News, 63 Richard Henry Lee, 64 Frances, who married Harry W. Booker, of Hampton, and is now residing there.

Hon. Baker P. Lee died at Hampton, September 2, 1901.

DOSWELL FAMILY.

1 John[1] Doswell was living in Charles Parish, York Co., Va., in 1683, when he was appointed agent for the collection of debts by Bailey Kent, of Wapping, County Middlesex, England. His wife, Catherine, died March 4, 1710. He died June 12, 1718. He had a son 2 *John Doswell, Jr.*

2 John[2] Doswell (*John*[1]) married Elizabeth Nutting, daughter of Capt. Thomas Nutting and Margaret Booth, his wife, daughter of William Booth, one of the justices of York Co. He died Nov. 20, 1718, and had issue: 3 Nutting Doswell, who died Sept. 29, 1703; 4 "Richard and two more male twins, who died altogether March 4, 1710." 5 Edward, who died in York Co., March 7, 1739. His will names no children, but leaves his property to his nephew and niece—John and Mary Brown—children of Charles Brown and Mary his wife; 6 John, who died November 13, 1732; 7 *Thomas;* 8 Elizabeth, born Dec. 23, 1709, married Captain John Goodwin, and moved to Hanover Co.; 9 Mary, married Charles Brown and had John and Mary living in 1739. (Charles Parish Register, York Co. Records, and William and Mary Quarterly—Supplement to Vol. VIII., No. 2, pages 12, 14, 48, 150.)

7 Thomas[3] Doswell (*John,*[2] *John*[1]) married Rebecca Drummond, and was a well known character in Hanover Co. (William and Mary Quarterly, XI., 182.) He appears to have had issue: 9 Elizabeth, born 1743, married John Goodwin, son of James Goodwin; 10 probably Major Thomas Doswell, of Hanover, who married Susan Brown Christian and was father of Thomas Walker Doswell, of "Bullfield," Hanover Co. (Quarterly, VIII., 126); 11 probably James Doswell, who served in the Fourth Virginia Regiment in the Revolution. He married Jane Thilman, daughter of Paul Thilman and had issue: Paul Thilman Doswell. The latter married Fanny Gwathmey and was father of Paulina T. Doswell, who was born in Hanover Co., May 27, 1822. (Statement of Mrs. Alice T. Ramey, living at present in Brownwood, Texas, a daughter of Paulina T. Doswell.) Major J. Temple Doswell, of Fredericksburg, was a son of Paul Thilman Doswell and Fanny Gwathmey, his wife. (See *Virginia Magazine,* Vol. XVI., p. 213.) George W. Doswell was another son. *Ibid.,* XIX., p. 320.

IS CIVILIZATION DETERMINED BY CLIMATE?

In an article published in *Harper's Magazine* for May, Professor Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale University, refers to the civilization of the country below Mason and Dixon's Line as distinctly inferior to that above the line, and seeks to give the reason. We of the South are so accustomed to being misrepresented by New Englanders that we are not surprised that Prof. Huntington does the like, but the reason he gives for the suggested difference is new, and in some respects comforting. Other New England writers have attributed our inferiority to a kind of original depravity, resulting from negro slavery and a debased ancestry. They have taught that the evil was radical and fundamental, and thus left us no hope either in the present or the future. But now comes Dr. Huntington, a great traveller and explorer, with the information that the factor most potently influencing the status of the South is simply the constancy of the weather. Not a word about our depravity in the whole article, nor any word of New Englanders being the "salt of the earth" or "the elect of God." The superiority of New England and the North in general, including Illinois, where the professor was born, is reduced by Dr. Huntington to a mere matter of greater variability of climate. The climate of the South, he argues, is too constant to afford the necessary stimulus for high civilization, while in the changeful weather of the North there is an incentive to ceaseless motion and activity.

He is not at all taken back by the fact that history seems to give emphatic contradiction to his ideas. Southern countries like Egypt, Greece, Italy and Mespotamia were centres of the arts and sciences, when wild and uncouth savages roved about in New England and the other parts of the world which Dr. Huntington associates with the dignity of present civilization—notably California and Germany. To explain this too apparent inconsistency he resorts to *probabilities,* and declares that *probably* the storm centres have shifted since those early days, and that *probably* in the course of centuries the climate of Mespotamia and other Southern countries have become more constant, thereby causing a deterioration in the human material found in those regions.

This explanation, based confessedly upon guess, might seem rather far-fetched, but I am almost ready to accept it in view of the hope, remote as it may be, that it offers. By accepting the theory, we of the South need no longer regard ourselves as hopelessly lost, as former conceptions of us require, but the coming centuries may, after all, have a great future in store. A thousand years hence the fickleness of the Northern weather may change to constancy, and the climate of the South become as terrible as that of New Haven, or any other portion of the present favored regions

pointed out by Dr. Huntington. Time is nothing in the life of a great nation, and the South may patiently wait to have its own hour of triumph, while it sees New England reduced to the condition of modern Egypt. Indeed, the change may occur at any time.

But after all, is not Dr Huntington a little "previous" in his new philosophy? Ought he not to define first what civilization is before assuming that the South is really inferior? Civilization has an uncertain meaning to me, and my doubt may excuse some interrogations. Does civilization consist in constructive governmental work? If it does, then the history of the Union might make it appear that the political activity of the South before 1861, being confessedly greater than that of the North, rendered it much more civilized. Does it consist in the practice of humanity? Fifty years ago the South fought the Civil War, and knew that its failure in arms would mean its extinction as a nation, and yet with far more excuse for drastic measures than Germany, whose national entity is at any rate secure, it resorted to nothing that resembles the treatment of Belgium or the submarine warfare. Lee in Pennsylvania and Raphael Semmes upon the sea presented quite a contrast to Sherman in Georgia and Von Kluck in Belgium, and no drop of innocent blood dimmed the lustre of their achievements.

If civilization is to be deemed mere commercial aggrandizement, then it is true that our Southern country is inferior to the North and to highly "cultured" Germany. But is this due to climatic variability? The climate of the South is variable enough, to be sure, but I rather think that there is an explanation in well-known facts—agricultural pursuits contrasted with manufactures, the race question and divided population, the burden of sectional taxation, and the devastation of a great civil war. If the South has not had proportionally as many scientists as the North, this is largely because her population is thin and scattered. Science loves the crowded centres, where its activity may receive adequate reward. Nevertheless, if we take the scientists of the first-water, those whom genius rendered independent of circumstances, it is very doubtful, indeed, whether the Northern States have any advantage proportionately over the Southern. Witness Maury, McCormick, the Le Contes, Rumsey, Aububon, Draper, Long, McDowell, Dudley, Sims, John Lawrence Smith, Walter Reed, Rupert Blue, and scores of other eminent Southern scientists. As population becomes denser in the South, science will become a more paying institution, and the number of *professional* scientists—second and third-class men—will increase and crowd the biographical dictionaries, as they do now in the North

But, however far-fetched Dr. Huntington's conclusions may be, I wish to reiterate my indebtedness to him. To all Southern men his article ought to be immensely gratifying, wonderfully comforting—it holds out a hope!

DID THE "MONITOR" OR "MERRIMAC" REVOLUTIONIZE NAVAL WARFARE?

The following interesting letter appeared in the *Washington Post* of Saturday, March 9, 1912, from the pen of Robert L. Preston. Of course, the credit of revolutionizing naval warfare belongs, as between the two ships, to the *Merrimac*. By its defeat of the Federal wooden battle fleet, fought in advance of the battle with the *Monitor*, the *Merrimac* conclusively established the superiority of iron ships to wooden ones. Naval warfare would have been changed had the *Monitor* never appeared on the scene:

EDITOR POST: Fifty years ago to-day was fought the celebrated battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*, or *Merrimac*, as she has been popularly called. Probably no battle of the Civil War has been the subject of so many and such persistent misstatements These misrepresentations, disseminated soon after the engagement, have been repeated and reiterated by subsequent writers, who have simply assumed former statements without investigation, until they have almost formed one of the numerous crystallizations of history. Having become stereotyped in popular accounts and school histories, they have been accepted as a gospel of the history of that period until they have become well-nigh ineradicable. An article that appeared in last Sunday's *Post* is the latest case in point.

The first and most common of these statements is that the *Monitor* revolutionized naval warfare. European nations had ironclads before either, the *Monitor* or *Merrimac* was heard of. If the honor belongs to either of the two, surely the *Merrimac* can claim it over her rival. Her construction was begun several months before Ericsson could induce Congress to make an appropriation for the building of the *Monitor*. She was the first in action; hence, to her belongs the credit.

The "Virginia" a History Maker

A writer in the *United Service Magazine* for November, 1880, says:

"The *Virginia* came out of the conflict a historical ship. In all future narratives of naval warfare, she will loom up conspicuously as having determined a new line of development in naval forces, leading to a complete revolution in the naval systems of the whole world, as well as those of coast and harbor defense."

In all the acounts that have appeared from time to time in the last fifty years great stress is laid on the fact that the *Monitor* was, from the laying of her keel to her appearance on the morning of March 9, 1862, in Hampton Roads, a carefully guarded secret, and that she presented herself as if dropped from the clouds to the astonished *Merrimac* on that eventful day.

The Confederate Navy Department was informed perfectly of her construction from its inception. Her movements were well known to the officers, although they did not know just when she would arrive or that she would stop in Hampton Roads at all. In fact, her orders were to go to the Potomac to protect Washington. It was only when she arrived in Hampton Roads on the evening of March 8th that Commodore John Marston, U. S. N., who was in command at that point, and who had an imperative order to send her to Washington, resolved to disregard the order and sent her to Newport News to look out for the *Merrimac,* as the *Cumberland* and *Congress* had been destroyed on that day. Lieut. Worden cheerfully acquiesced. She was seen by the pilot of the *Merrimac* at 11 o'clock on the night of the 8th, soon after her arrival, by the light of the burning *Congress,* which illuminated the whole of the roadstead.

It is conceded by most of the Northern historians who have written on the subject that the battle was a drawn one—by many very grudgingly. But they are practically unanimous in the statement that after the battle the *Merrimac* withdrew to Norfolk defeated and left the *Monitor* in possession of the field. This statement has gone the rounds of all the histories, great and small, and has become almost an article of religious belief, whose acceptance is essential to salvation as a patriot and whose denial is heresy so rank as to put the recusant beyond the pale.

There are several accounts of witnesses of the battle, and the subsequent movements of the two vessls, that are very decisive to an impartial reader, and help very much to clear up the fog that has settled over the subject.

The *Merrimac* fired no solid shot at the *Monitor.* She had none on board, except a few of wide wantage to be heated for use on the *Minnesota.* She had come out to shell the *Minnesota,* which she had riddled the day before, and would have sunk, had not the *Minnesota* grounded, when the *Merrimac,* unable to approach her on account of the shallow water, fired on her till dark, and then left for her anchorage. It must be constantly borne in mind that the *Merrimac* drew 23 feet of water, and that her movements were much restricted on that account. The *Monitor* drew 11 or about half as much.

Fired on Pilothouse

When Lieut. Catesby Jones, who commanded the *Merrimac* in the second day's battle, saw that his shells were making no impression on the *Monitor's* turret, he directed his fire on the pilothouse, the result of which is well known. It disabled her commander, and the command of the vessel devolved on Lieut. Greene, who withdrew from the fight into shallow water, where the *Merrimac* could not follow her on account of her draft.

The pilot of the *Monitor,* Samuel Howard, says:

"After Capt. Worden was wounded, my first orders from Lieut. Greene were to move off and make for Fortress Monroe. I did not know at this time that he had been made chief in command. I thought this was a great mistake, for I knew that if we left the *Virginia* would come back and destroy the *Minnesota.* Instead of obeying Capt. Greene, I went down to see Capt. Worden. I said to him: 'Captain, they want me to move off to Fortress Monroe. If we do this the *Virginia* will surely destroy the *Minnesota.* I don't want to do it.'

"'You must see Lieut. Greene,' replied Capt. Worden. 'He is now in command, and you must get your orders from him.'

Commander Van Brunt, of the *Minnesota,* in his official statement, says:

"By the time she (the *Merrimac*) had fired her third shell the little *Monitor* had come down upon her, placing herself between us, and compelled her to change her position, in doing which she grounded, and again I poured into her all the guns which could be brought to bear upon her. As soon as she got off she stood down the bay, the little battery chasing her with full speed, when suddenly the *Merrimac* turned around and ran full speed into her antagonist.

Anxious for a Moment

"For a moment I was anxious, but instantly I saw a shot plunge into the iron roof of the *Merrimac,* which surely must have damaged her, for some time afterward the rebels concentrated their whole battery upon the tower and pilothouse of the *Monitor,* and soon afterward the latter stood down for Fort Monroe, and we thought it probable she had exhausted her supply of ammunition or sustained some injury.

"Soon afterward the *Merrimac* and the two other steamers headed for my ship, and I then felt to the fullest extent my condition. I was hard and immovably aground, and they could take position under my stern and rake me. I had expended most of my solid shot, my ship was badly crippled, and my officers and men were worn out with fatigue. But even in this extreme dilemma I determined never to give up the ship to the rebels, and after consulting my officers I ordered every preparation to be made to destroy the ship after all hope was gone to save her. On ascending the poop-deck, I observed that the enemy's vessels had changed their course and were heading for Craney Island."

Prof. Soley says: "Seeing the *Monitor* draw off, Van Brunt, under the supposition that his protector was disabled and had left him, prepared for the worst, and made ready to destroy this ship. But at this point the *Merrimac* withdrew to Norfolk."

Continued for Three Hours

Lieut. Jones, who commanded the *Merrimac,* says:

"The fight had continued over three hours. To us the *Mnoitor* appeared unharmed. We were, therefore, surprised to see her run off into shoal water, where our great draft would not permit us to follow, and where our shells could not reach her. We for some time awaited the return of the *Monitor* to the Roads. Had there been any sign of the *Monitor's* willingness to renew the contest, we would have remained to fight her. We left her in the shoal water, to which she had withdrawn, and which she did not leave until after we had crossed the bar on our way to Norfolk."

Finally, in 1884, Representative Ballentine, of the Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom a bill for granting $200,000 for distribution to the officers and crew of the *Monitor* was submitted, made a strong adverse report, in which he said:

"We assume that the proof shows that the only serious damage sustained by the *Merrimac* was inflicted by the *Cumberland,* and that the *Merrimac* went back to Norfolk when her adversaries were out of reach, and they being in shoal water, and she, on account of the great depth of water which she drew, unable to attack them, went into dock for repairs, and again came out and offered battle, which was refused."

Hull of Steam Frigate

In reviewing the performance of the *Merrimac,* the following facts are worthy of consideration:

She was the hull of a steam frigate, which had been burned to the water's edge by the Federals when they evacuated Norfolk April 19, 1861. The hull was sunk with her boilers and engines, and subsequently raised, and converted into an ironclad, which was named the *Virginia.* With engines and boilers that had been subjected to the destructive effects of fire and seawater, she fought a fierce and prolonged battle on March 8th, in which she destroyed and scattered the Federal fleet.

The next day, with no repairs, and the same crew, she fought another battle of equal severity, and withdrew, when her adversary was no longer able to be reached. In the first day's fight she stood the poundings of vessels whose total armament consisted of more than 100 guns, and sank two and riddled the third.

The *Minnesota,* the survivor, received twelve shells in hull and rigging; one at the water-line. One carried away a third of her mainmast. The *Merrimac's* armor was not penetrated in either battle, but her smoke-stack was riddled on the first day, which interfered much with her draft in the second day's fight. In the two days' battle she bore the brunt of a conflict with a force of 2,890 men and 230 guns, as follows:

Congress (burned), 480 men, 50 guns; *Cumberland* (sunk), 360 men, 22 guns; *Minnesota* (riddled), 550 men, 40 guns; *Roanoke* (sailed away),

550 men, 40 guns; *St. Lawrence* (peppered), 480 men, 50 guns; two or three gunboats (disabled), 120 men, 6 guns, *Monitor,* 150 men, 2 guns; batteries at Newport News, 200 men, 20 guns; tug *Dragon* (blown up).

Blew Up the "Dragon"

It must be remembered that during the battle of the 9th the *Merrimac* received the fires of the *Minnesota,* as well as the the *Monitor,* and fought her also. She blew up the *Dragon,* a tug moored alongside the *Minnesota.*

I know of no vessel in the annals of naval warfare that, in two successive days, without repairs and refitting, and with the same crew, ever fought two such battles against such forces as she encountered. She had sprung a leak the day before, when her ram was twisted off in the *Cumberland.* This started up again when she rammed the *Monitor,* but was temporarily stopped during the battle. Her armor had been cracked in several places, and the oak backing broken, but no shot had pierced it. She was not in a finished condition when she started out, and was much in need of repairs after the tremendous hammering of two days' battle. The net result of the battle of the 9th was that the *Monitor* saved the *Minnesota,* and her commander was disabled. The *Merrimac* had none of her crew killed or wounded, while in the battle of the 8th she had two killed and nineteen wounded.

A third error that has pervaded the popular mind, and been disseminated in the school histories, is that the Merrimac went back to Norfolk and never came out again. This is repeated in the article in Sunday's *Post.* Nothing could be further from the truth.

Order from President

On March 10th Secretary Welles telegraphed from Washington: "It is directed by the President that the *Monitor* be not too much exposed; that in no event shall any attempt be made to proceed with her unaccompanied to Norfolk."

On March 12th J. G. Barnard, chief engineer of McClellan's army, telegraphed from Fairfax Courthouse: "The possibility of the Merrimac again appearing paralyzes the movements of the army by whatever route is adopted."

On March 15th Assistant Secretary of War Tucker telegraphed: "The Secretary of War directs me to ask you for what sum you will contract to destroy the *Merrimac* or prevent her from coming out from Norfolk, you to sink or destroy her if she gets out. Answer by telegraph, as there is no time to be lost."

Again on March 15th Secretary Welles telegraphed: "There is a degree of apprehension in regard to the armored steamer *Merrimac* which it is difficult to allay. If it is possible to place obstructions by sinking vessels in the narrow channels of the Elizabeth River so as to prevent her from coming out, it is desirable it should be done at any cost."

All this time the Federal fleet was anchored under the guns of Fort Monroe. On April 11th the *Merrimac,* having completed her repairs, came out, with four gunboats, and cut out two brigs and a schooner under the nose of the Federal fleet and had them towed back to Norfolk, neither the *Monitor* nor any of the rest of the fleet making any attempt to engage her.

Report of Englishman

Commander W. N. Hewett, V. C., of H. M. S. *Rinaldo,* anchored in Hampton Roads, sent the following report to Vice-Admiral Milne, who forwarded it to the British admiralty:

"Early on the morning of the 11th the Confederate iron-cased battery *Virginia* (late *Merrimac*), accompanied by four gunboats and two tugs, was seen approaching from the direction of Norfolk. At 7:10 A. M. the Federals fired two alarm guns from the iron-cased battery *Monitor* and the fort. The *Virginia* and her consorts continued steaming for Fortress Monroe, but when abreast of Sewell's Point, well out in the stream, the gunboats and tugs stopped, and the *Virginia* proceeded as before, passing within 200 yards of me. At 7:45 the fort on the Ripraps fired two shots at her, both falling short.

"I then slipped from my port anchor, and in company with the French war steamers *Catinat* and *Cassend* headed for Newport News, keeping out of the range of the Federal guns.

"At 9 A. M. the Confederate gunboat *Patrick Henry,* with some little assistance from the gunboat *Teazer,* captured three transports close inshore, on the Federal side, without being interfered with, and towed them up to Norfolk. From this hour until 4 P. M. the Confederate squadron cruised about the roads without opposition, the *Virginia* occasionally going within range of the Federal guns on the Ripraps and Fortress Monroe, as well as those of the large squadron under the guns of the fort.

Fired on Federal Boats

"At 4 P. M. the *Virginia* fired three shots at two Federal gunboats inside the bar for the protection of the schooners and transports. They immediately returned the fire, but the range being too long no damage was done on their side The *Virginia* then steamed back to Craney Island with the rest of the squadron. I was at this time anchored near Newport News.

"The next day the *Virginia* and her consorts steamed down to Sewell's Point, and remained there all that day, the Federal squadron making no attempt to harass or engage them."

Admiral Porter says of this: "This was a humiliation and should not have been suffered, but prevented at all hazards, especially as the crew of an English corvette cheered the Confederates as they towed their prizes away."

Representative Ballentine, of the Committee on Naval Affairs in 1884, in his adverse report on House bill No. 244, says:

"All the evidence leads clearly to the opinion that the *Monitor* after her engagement with the *Merrimac* on the eighth of March declined again to engage her, though offered the opportunity, and that so great doubt existed with the United States naval and military authorities as to the power of the *Monitor* to successfully meet the *Merrimac* that orders were given to her commander by the President not to bring on an engagement."

Indignation of Public

The New York *Herald* of April 15th, commenting on the affair of the eleventh says:

"The public are very justly indignant at the conduct of our navy in Hampton Roads on Friday last. The Confederate fleet, headed by the *Merrimac,* came down to Craney Island, and one of the Confederate gunboats very coolly captured three Union vessels. The *Monitor,* the Stevens battery, the *Octarora,* and the other Union vessels of war took no apparent notice of this proceeding. Not one of the vessels even moved toward the Merrimac."

Her object in entering the Roads on April 11th was to engage the *Monitor,* run alongside, board her, and capture. Careful plans had been made to effect this. Her weak points were well known, and a boarding party was formed with one gang to wedge her turret to stop its revolution, another to throw a tarpaulin over the pilothouse, a third to drop hand grenades down her smokestack and ventilators, and a fourth to fasten a cable around her turret, with which to take her in tow. As she remained in her old position on Hampton Flats with the rest of the fleet and refused to come out, no opportunity was given to make the attempt.

The *Merrimac* late in the afternoon returned to her anchorage with the two brigs and one schooner she had captured. Lieut. Henry A. Wise, U. S. A., in a communication to Lieut. O. C. Badger, U. S. N., after the battle of March 9th, said: "With reference to the *Monitor,* the moment I jumped on board of her after the fight, I saw that a steam tug, with twenty men could have taken the upper part of her in as many seconds, and perhaps the inside too, by dropping two or three 12-pound shrapnel down her little steampipe, or, at all events, by choking the turret."

Shelled Confederate Battery

On May 8th the Monitor and the rest of the Union fleet left their anchorage under the guns of Fortress Monroe, and advanced to Sewell's Point, which they attacked for the purpose of reducing the Confederate battery established there. What happened on that day may best be told in the report of Commander Hewitt, of H. M. S. *Rinaldo,* which was forwarded to the British admiralty:

"May 8, 1862.—That same morning a Confederate tugboat arrived at Fortress Monroe from Norfolk, having deserted. She reported that the Confederates were prepared to evacuate Norfolk, etc., and that they had

sunk the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*). On this intelligence becoming known at 10:30 P. M. of the same day a Federal squadron, consisting of the *Dacotah* and *Oncida,* screw sloops, of six guns each; the *San Jacinto,* screw, eleven guns; *Susquehanna,* paddle sloop, fifteen guns; *Monitor* and *Naugatuck,* iron-cased batteries, moved up the river toward Sewells Point, and commenced shelling the Confederate battery on that point at a very long range. This was the prelude to their intended attack on Norfolk.

"The Confederates returned a slow fire. I suppose their guns are not of a very long range. The Federal squadron continued firing up to 2:30 P. M. without intermission. The *Monitor* was at this time about 1,800 yards from Sewell's Point. She then was observed to be coming back again toward the rest of the squadron, which was some 4,000 yards from the point and in the direction of Newport News.

"The smoke of a steamer could be seen rising above the trees and moving along toward Hampton Roads from the direction of Norfolk. At 2 P. M. the Confederate iron-cased battery *Virginia* rounded Sewell's Point, and the Federal squadron steamed down quickly under the guns of the fort. As the *Virginia* alone came within range of their guns, and those of Fort Wool, on the Ripraps, the Federal frigate *Minnesota,* accompanied by four large steamers, which are intended to act as rams, proceeded up the river abreast of Old Point, and joined the rest of the squadron.

Federals Steamed Away

"With the exception of a few shots fired from the Ripraps at the *Virginia,* the Federals made no attempt to molest her, but, on the contrary, as she approached them they steamed away from her. They left off firing at Sewell's Point immediately on sighting her coming from Norfolk. She would most likely have made her appearance before had the water been sufficiently high. The *Virginia,* having driven the Federal fleet away, returned and anchored under Sewell's Point, where she now remains."

Capt. Louis N. Stoddard, United States revenue service, who was navigating officer and an acting master on the *Monitor,* says of this affair:

"She (the *Merrimac*) came out six weeks later, while we were bombarding Sewell's Point, and defied the Union fleet, which immediately scattered back for Fortress Monroe."

Finally, on May 10th, while she was at anchor at Sewell's Point, her commander, Flag Officer Tatnall, observing that the Confederate flag was no longer flying over the batteries, found that Norfolk was being evacuated. He immediately ordered the *Merrimac* lightened so as to take her up the James River to Richmond. But finding that with the strong west wind blowing the tide would be too low to get her up, and having lost Norfolk his only base, he resolved to blow her up to avoid her falling into the hands of the Federals. This he did on the 11th. Thus ended the career of this remarkable vessel.

Constructed of the hull of a burned and sunken frigate, propelled by engines that had been raised from the bottom of the river, never completed, manned by a crew largely recruited from the army, which had no time to be drilled in its duties, impeded in all her movements by her great draft, her cruise of sixty-five days may well be considered unsurpassed in naval annals.

The fleet anchored at Fortress Monroe carried more than 200 guns, and included the *Monitor*, but the dread she inspired was so great that "a large committee of highly respectable gentlement from the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, headed by Mayor Opdyke," called on Secretary Welles on March 15th to urge that the narrow channel of the Elizabeth River be blocked up at once with barges loaded with stone to keep the *Merrimac* from again coming out.

Numbers of stone-laden barges were sent down the Potomac to Kettle Bottom Shoals to be sunk to prevent her coming up the river.

After her destruction by Flag Officer Tatnall, her crew went up and joined the forces around Richmond. The late Capt. H. B. Littlepage, who served on her as a midshipman from the day she was commissioned until she was destroyed, abandoned his own clothes in order to save her flags, which are now in possession of his family in this city.

True Stories Desired

As fifty years have passed since that eventful combat, let us relegate to the rubbish heap all such tales as that the *Monitor* drove the *Merrimac* back to Norfolk, never to come out again. Burn up the histories, if they are incorrect, and re-write them. The hot blood of patriotism is excellent in time of war, but in peace by all means let us have the cold facts of history.

If fairy tales are necessary, serve them up to the little tin soldiers and the chocolate-cream generals, who have feasted on them so long. The real soldiers have no taste for them, and the children of the country need plain and simple food.

ROBERT L. PRESTON.

DID GRANT, SHERMAN AND SHERIDAN TEACH MILITARISM TO GERMANY?

Events fifty years old have ceased to stir the blood of people in the United States, who are interested in the titanic European conflict. They can be referred to without stirring up strife, and are valuable only as they teach lessons to us in the present. One lesson is that an American condemnation of Germany is subject to some embarrassments, in view of the conduct of the Federal armies in the Civil War. This is shown in the annexed letter of John Bigelow, of New York, military historian and author, which was published in the *New York Times* of June 13, 1915.

In replying to Major Putnam's statement that Sherman's men perperated their atrocities for the most part without orders, Mr. Bigelow might have made his point more forcible by saying that, in view of the known wishes and feelings of both Halleck and Sherman, no orders were necessary. But the banishment of all the inhabitants from Atlanta and the burning of the city were certainly done by order, and Mr. C. F. Adams quotes General Sherman as using the following language: "and I resolved to stop the game of guarding their cities and to destroy their cities; to make every man, woman and child in the South feel * * * that they must die or submit." And that this policy of destruction had the approval of Lincoln is shown, not only by his letters of congratulation to Sherman and by those of Halleck, his military adviser, but by some remarks attributed to Lincoln at the time of Sherman's capture of Atlanta: "No human power can subdue this rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy and *every other policy* calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the rebellion." And on Dec. 6, 1864, in response to a serenade, Lincoln proposed "three cheers for Sherman and his army," expressing no regret at Sherman's methods.

Mr. Bigelow confines his criticism to the actions of Sherman, but how about the action of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley under Gen. Grant's orders? In an order dated Sept. 26, 1864, Grant said: "If the war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste." But it would be unjust to hold only Grant, Sherman and Sheridan responsible for spoliations, which really could only be justified on the assumption that the United States could not supply its own armies. Depredation and spoliation, especially in the latter part of the war were the general policy of Lincoln's government; and as a matter of fact Eastern Virginia and other parts of the South were swept clearer than the Shenandoah Valley of everything useful to man and beast.

Highland Falls, N. Y., June 8, 1915.

To the Editor of "The New York Times":

In *The Times* of June 4th Major George Haven Putnam takes Professor Yandell Henderson to task for seeing in the devastation caused during our Civil War by our armies in the South "a parallel to the actions of the Germans in Belgium, France and England," and ends by reproving the professor for permitting himself "in speaking of the devastation of the civil war as comparable with these deeds in Belgium, to traduce the reputation of the American volunteer armies." It may be admitted that Sherman's troops were not as severe upon the people of Georgia as the German troops have been on the people of Belgium, and on some of the people of France and England. I do not understand Professor Henderson to allege that they were. But were Sherman's men so correct in their deportment that to compare their actions with those of the Germans in the enemy's country is "to traduce the reputation of the American

volunteer armies"? Here is what one of the finest representatives of those volunteer armies has said about the March through Georgia:

"The rules and limitations of civilized warfare, so far as noncombatants were concerned, were no longer observed, and Sherman's advancing army was enveloped and followed by a cloud of irresponsible stragglers, known as 'bummers,' who were simply for the time being desperadoes bent on pillage and destruction—subject to no discipline, amenable to no law. They were looked upon then by the North, weary of the war, with a half-humorous leniency; but in reality, a band of Goths, their existence was a disgrace to the cause they professed to serve. * * *

" * * * Our own methods during the final stages of the conflict were sufficiently described by General Sheridan, when, during the Franco-Prussian war, as the guest of Bismarck, he declared against humanity, in warfare, contending that the correct policy was to treat a hostile population with the utmost rigor, leaving them, as he expressed it, 'Nothing but their eyes to weep with over the war." (*Studies, Mil. and Diplom.*, by C. F. Adams, p. 266.)

A few extracts from the correspondence, reports, &c., of General Sherman and other officers will assist your readers in judging for themselves what injustice, if any, Charles Francis Adams was guilty of in making the foregoing strictures on our methods of war. They are taken, where not otherwise indicated, from the official records of the Civil War. The Confederate officers are distinguished by a C. in parentheses, after their names.

Sherman to Grant, March 9, 1864:

"Until we can repopulate Georgia it is useless for us to occupy it; but the utter destruction of its roads, houses and people, will cripple their military resources. By attempting to hold the roads we will lose a thousand men each month and will gain no result. I can make this march and make Georgia howl." (*Memoirs*, II., 152.)

Sherman to Hood (C), Sept. 7, 1864:

"I have deemed it to the interest of the United States that the citizens now residing in Atlanta should remove, those who prefer it to go South and the rest North."

Hood (C) to Sherman, Sept. 9, 1864:

" * * * the unprecedented measure you propose transcends in studied and ingenious cruelty, all acts ever before brought to my attention in the dark history of war. In the name of God and humanity I protest * * * * "

Sherman to Hood (C), Sept. 10, 1864:

"If we must be enemies, let us be men and fight it out as we propose to do, and not deal in such hypocritical appeals to God and humanity. God will judge us in due time * * * "

Hood (C) to Sherman, Sept. 12, 1864:

"Your original order was stripped of all pretenses; you announced the edict for the sole reason that it was 'to the interest of the United States.'

This alone you offered to us and the civilized world as an all-sufficient reason disregarding the laws of God and man."

Messrs. Calhoun (C), Rawson (C), and Wells (C), Mayor and Councilmen of Atlanta, to Sherman, Sept. 11, 1864:

"Many poor women are in advanced state of pregnancy; others now having young children, and whose husbands, for the greater part, are either in the army, prisoners or dead. Some say, 'I have such an one sick at my house; who will wait on them when I am gone?' Others say, 'What are we to do? We have no house to go to, and no means to buy, build, or rent any; no parents, relatives or friends to go to.' * * * As you advanced, the people north of this fell back, and before your arrival here a large portion of the people had retired south, so that the country south of this is already crowded and without houses enough to accommodate the people * * * You know, the woe, the horrors and the suffering cannot be described by words; imagination can only conceive of it, and we ask you to take these things into consideration."

Sherman to Messrs. Calhoun (C), Rawson (C), and Wells (C), Sept. 12, 1864:

" * * * My military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible * * *

" * * * War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it. * * * You might as well appeal against the thunderstorm as against these terrible hardships of war. * * * I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect and early success."

Halleck to Sherman, Sept. 28, 1864:

" * * * I would destroy every mill and factory within reach, which I did not want for my own use."

Sherman to Beckwith, Acting Chief Q. M., Oct. 19, 1864:

"I propose to abandon Atlanta and the railroad back to Chattanooga, to sally forth to ruin Georgia." (*Memoirs,* II., 159.)

Order from General Howard, Nov. 19, 1864:

"More care must be taken in the selection of foragers. Many have been drunk and disorderly."

Adjutant General Seventeenth Army Corps to Colonel First Alabama Cavalry (Federal), Nov. 20, 1864:

" * * * the outrages committed by your command during the march are becoming so common and are of such an aggravated nature that they call for some severe and instant mode of correction. Unless the pillaging of houses and wanton destruction of property by your regiment ceases at once, he (the corps commander) will place every officer in it under arrest and recommend them to the department commander for dishonorable dismissal from the service."

Howard to Sherman, Nov. 23, 1864:

"I regret to say that quite a number of private dwellings, which the inhabitants have left, have been destroyed by fire, but without official sanction; also many instances of the most inexcusable and wanton acts, such as the breaking open of trunks, taking of silver plate, &c. I have taken measures to prevent it, and I believe they will be effectual. The inhabitants are generally terrified, and believe us a thousand times worse than what we are."

Sherman to Grant, Dec. 18, 1864:

" * * * we can punish South Carolina as she deserves, and as thousands of people hoped we would do. I do sincerely believe that the whole United States, North and South, would rejoice to have this army turned loose on South Carolina to devastate that State, in the manner we have done in Georgia, and it would have a direct and immediate bearing on your campaign in Virginia."

Halleck to Sherman, Dec. 18, 1864:

"Should you capture Charleston, I hope that by some accident the place may be destroyed, and if a little salt should be sown upon its site it might prevent the growth of future crops of nullification and secession."

Sherman to Halleck, Dec. 24, 1864:

"We are not only fighting hostile armies but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war, as well as their organized armies. * * * I think before we are done South Carolina will not be quite so tempestuous. I will bear in mind your hint as to Charleston, and don't think salt will be necessary."

Halleck to Foster, Dec. 31, 1864:

"(The Secretary of War) directs that the families of all rebel officers in Savannah be placed outside our lines, so that they may enjoy the society and share the fortunes of their husbands and fathers."

Sherman to Grant, Jan. 1, 1865:

"I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at $100,000,000, at least $20,000,000 of which has inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simply waste and destruction. This may seem a hard species of warfare, but it brings the sad realities of war home to those who have been directly or indirectly instrumental in involving us in its attendant calamities. * * * A little loose in foraging, they (the rank and file) 'did some things they ought not to have done,' yet on the whole, they have supplied the wants of the army with as little violence as could be expected."

Sherman to ———, April 9, 1865:

" * * * To-morrow we move. * * * Poor North Carolina will have a hard time, for we sweep the country like a swarm of locusts. Thousands of people may perish, but they now realize that war means something else than vain glory and boasting. If peace ever falls to their lot, they will never again invite war." (*Home Letters.*)

From the foregoing documents it appears that the operation called Sherman's March to the Sea, had three distinct objects:

1. Saving Sherman's army from the alternative of famine or retreat by making a change of base from Atlanta to a port on the Atlantic.

2. Destroying the railroads and, by appropriation or destruction, depriving the Confederates armies of the resources of a large portion of the South.

3. Carrying the war home to the people of that section with a view to discouraging them in the support and prosecution of the war.

The last of these objects was, with Sherman, as important as any of the others. However it may differ from the policy which Major Putnam ascribes to Germany "of impressing and dismaying its antagonists with the 'frightfulness' of its methods," it is in the same class with the latter as an offense against the formally recognized and approved usage of nations in the conduct of war.

Major Putnam seems to make much of the circumstances that the German "frightfulness" was practiced chiefly under orders.

The foregoing record supports his implication that Sherman's was practiced chiefly without orders. They indicate in fact that the most stringent orders issued and reiterated were inadequate to preventing or stopping it. I imagine that the hapless planter or other proprietor who saw his horses run off, his wagons burned, his crops taken or ruined, felt very much the same whether his troubles came upon him by order or without order. Nor is it clear that an army which waits, to act frightfully, until it is ordered to do so, is more to be criticised than one which resorts to such action without orders and persists in it when ordered to desist.

As Major Putnam says, the American Government had no such policy as that of waging war against noncombatants "with no possible military result, slaying women and children." No. General Sherman had a military result in view. He hoped by means of the hardships of war, made greater than was otherwise necessary, to bring pressure to bear through the people upon the Government of the Confederacy. How else account for his supplying his army by forced contributions? Was not the United States able to pay for its supplies? Was it not easier to buy them than to impress them? Would it not have been better for the discipline, the morale, the general efficiency of his army, to have done as our commanders generally do in an enemy's country, to pay for the supplies taken or received from the people? But let this pass. There is respectable authority for making forced contributions for the support of an invading army and even for destroying military supplies which it cannot use but may be used by the army of the enemy. But what is not authorized is the destruction of supplies which neither the invading army nor the army of the enemy can turn to account, supplies, in other words, of the civil population as such, the destruction of which cannot, unless it be in the indirect manner already indicated, serve any military purpose.

If Sherman was not wanton in his harshness, because he had a military object in it, may not the Germans be similarly justified? According to Major Putnam, their warfare against noncombatants had "no possible military result." While I cannot accept this apparently offhand statement as correct, I am willing to admit it for the sake of argument. So far as I know, it has never been proved—certainly Major Putnam does not prove—that Sherman's harassment of Southern people had or could possibly have, any military result. It is interesting to learn that Major Putnam "never knew of an officer being called upon to protect a woman against mistreatment by our soldiers." How many officers are there in the German army who are similarly uninformed? Major Putnam reflects on Professor Henderson's capacity "for historical research," and, with delightful ingenuousness, refers him for the truth about Germany's acts to a British report. And why wander off to the Palatinate for a parallel to alleged German atrocities, seeing that we have a closer one at hand in the deeds of our American Indians as allies or instruments of Great Britain in our own country? So-called international law has been pretty well made over for the present war. Is history to be re-written for it also?

JOHN BIGELOW.

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LYNCH LAW

It is an undeniable fact that lynching is more frequent in the South than in the North, and various reasons have been assigned. One of the most popular explanations is that the rate of illiteracy is greater in the South than in the North. But since the objective lesson furnished by the most cultured nation in the world, it ought to be pretty well demonstrated that there is no necessary connection between education and respect for law. To the government of Germany the international law appears as "a scrap of paper," and even those rules whose essence is humanity have been ignored, whenever in its opinion the success of its military measures is promoted by so doing. If it is true that lynching is more prevalent in the South than in the North, the North, nevertheless, has by far the greater number of rascals. The lawless men in the South are often, in many respects, praiseworthy and honorable. Men like the Allens, who some years ago shot up a court in Virginia, were totally unlike the thugs and gunmen of the Northern cities, who are depraved from center to circumference. Doubtless, if the murderers of Leo Frank in Georgia were discovered, many of them would be found to be leaders in the church and in the community in which they live—men who would scorn to take a cent unjustly. On the other hand, the Northern murderer is rotten all the way through. He does not like the men who killed Leo Frank in mistaken indignation at a crime, snatch an accused from the officers in charge, but he murders for money. He is generally a thief as well as a mur-

derer, as was aptly illustrated in the Becker case in New York. Such men are thoroughly debased, and are more often found in the most cultured centers of the Union. Many of them are well educated.

The true reason for the greater prevalence of lynching in the South, as it appears to the writer at any rate, lies in the absence of community life. Southern life is still decidedly rural and agricultural. The farmers live at considerable distances from one another. Thus the feeling of personal independence has been always stronger in the South than in the North. This feeling was emphasized by negro slavery, till every white man, no matter how poor he might be, regarded himself as an aristocrat. It showed itself in the Southern army where all the subordinate officers were elected by the soldiers. Thus in this inborn feeling of personal independence every white man looked upon his own feelings as a kind of law, and was impatient of submitting to the officers of the law when some crime of more than ordinary wickedness, like the murder of Mary Phagan, stirred his sense of indignation. The consequence has been lynch law.

The Northern people, on the other hand, have lived in close communities. The general feature of their life has been town life. They have been brought up under all kinds of restrictions, and have had less personal independence. The policeman is identified with their life from childhood to old age. They may never have been in a police court, but the policeman is an object lesson from the beginning. Hence they never think of asserting their own will against the guardians of the law, and lynch law is practically unknown. There are, however, the scoundrels of whom I have spoken, and of whose presence the South is largely free. Both the lyncher and the gunman should receive no mercy.

LINCOLN AND FORT SUMTER

It is a well attested fact that William H. Seward, Secretary of State in 1861, authorized Judge John A. Campbell, of the Supreme Court, to assure the Confederate commissioners, who had been sent to Washington to arrange for a peaceful separation of the Southern States, that the government of the United States would withdraw the troops from Fort Sumter. Not only have we Judge Campbell's published word for this, never denied, but Mr. Seward, before his appointment as Secretary, had expressed himself in the Senate against the employment of arms to coerce the South. After his selection as Secretary by Mr. Lincoln was well known, but apparently before the inauguration, he positively assured Gov. C. S. Morehead, of Kentucky, that "there would be no collision," and offered to "give him his head for a football" if the whole matter were not satisfactorily settled "within sixty days after I (Seward) am seated in the saddle and hold the reins firmly in my hands." When Lincoln asked the advice of his cabinet as to re-inforcing Fort Sumter, Seward was one of the five of seven cabinet officers who opposed the move and declared that the measure would inaugurate civil war.

The evidence then against Seward seems unimpeachable, but what of Lincoln? Did he know of Seward's assurances to Judge Campbell? Did he also approve, in the first instance, of withdrawing the troops? To affirm that he did would show that he allowed the Confederate commissioners to receive assurances which were not kept, and that in changing his mind he vacillated at a most important period in the history of the government. Now, this is a conclusion that his admirers are not willing to admit. In spite of the utter improbability of a Secretary of State keeping such an important matter secret from the President, it is almost universally affirmed in modern school histories that Lincoln was ignorant of Seward's dealing with the Confederate commissioners, and the impression is sought to be made that he pursued one consistent honorable course.

None of Lincoln's admirers seem to appreciate the fact that in thus absolving him from responsibility for Seward, they leave him still in a sorry situation. Why, when he learned the facts, which were soon published, did he not hold Seward to strict accountability? Is it possible to assume that Mr. Bryan or Mr. Lansing, his successor, would have taken such a liberty with President Wilson, or that President Wilson would have submitted to such a proceeding involving the best interests of the Union?

Not believing Lincoln quite as weak a man as his admirers would thus logically represent him, the writer is compelled to think that Lincoln was fully aware of Seward's proceedings, and that he both knew and approved of Seward's assurances. And here we have Governor Morehad's evidence again. This gentleman asserts that on Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Washington, he waited upon him in company with Messrs. Rives, of Virginia; Doniphan, of Missouri, and Guthrie, of Kentucky, and that in reply to the earnest solicitations of these gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln said that "he would withdraw the troops from Fort Sumter, if Virginia would stay in the Union." Gov. Morehead declares that he could not be mistaken in the language, "since he took occasion to write down the conversation soon after it occurred." It is well known that Mr. Lincoln sent his armament against South Carolina, while Virginia was still a member of the Union. Below is further confirmatory evidence that Lincoln fully intended to withdraw the troops from Fort Sumter. It is a letter of Francis Pickens, Governor of South Carolina, which, with the proposed editorial, was published in 1861, first in the *Columbia Guardian*, and afterwards in the *Richmond Examiner*. They are republished here because they are not readily accessible. In his communication Governor Pickens says that "he knew the fact from Mr. Lincoln's most intimate friend and accredited agent, Mr. Lamon, that the President of the United States, professed a desire to evacuate Fort Sumter, and "he, Mr. Lamon, actually wrote me, after his return to Washington, that he would be back in a few days to aid in that purpose." Governor Pickens adds that Major Anderson expected the evacuation, as his notes to him prove, and that Mr. Fox, of the United States Navy, after obtaining permission from him, upon the express guarantee of

a former gallant associate in the navy, to visit Major Anderson "for pacific purposes, planned the pretended attempt to relieve and reinforce the garrison by a fleet and that Major Anderson protested against it." Perhaps more interesting still is the paper to which Pickens refers in his letter "from information received in the most confidential manner" and "through one very near the most intimate counsels of the President of the United States," as probably the proof sheet from a confidential New York paper. (Was this Lamon who had gotten to be also very friendly with Pickens?) It purported to be a justification of an order signed by Lincoln for the withdrawal of the troops, and in it the ground is taken that the evacuation was an absolute military necessity, brought about by treason on the part of Mr. Buchanan's government. According to Pickens, the person (Lamon?), who had thus the confidence of the President, assured him that the article received the approval of Lincoln and his cabinet; "that a proclamation in conformity with its general views was to be issued, and that a change in the decision of the cabinet was made in one night." War instead of peace was determined upon as the result.

What was the cause of the change, it may be asked? It was stated at the time in the Southern papers, and the suggestion is certainly reasonable, that the government changed its stand because of the Confederate tariff. It is said that seven governors of seven tariff States in the North visited Lincoln and complained that it would be very injurious to allow a nation of free traders to exist so near. Mr. Lincoln came reluctantly over to the same view, and it is said that when the delegates from the Virginia Convention arrived to ascertain his intentions, he asked them what would become of *his* tariff if Charleston and other Southern ports were to be opened as ports of entry with their ten per cent. tariff. This question he announced with such emphasis that to the committee it seemed that in Lincoln's view it decided the whole matter. (See on this whole subject *Letters and Times of the Tylers,* II., 631-639, with authorities and references there given.) That the war in 1861 turned upon the tariff issue and not upon the slavery question is not surprising when one recollects how nearly the country went to war on the tariff issue in 1833. T.

[From *The Daily Examiner* (Richmond, Virginia), Thursday Morning, August 8, 1861.]

EVACUATION OF FORT SUMTER—SECRET HISTORY OF THE MATTER BY GOVERNOR PICKENS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

We find in the *Columbia Guardian* the following extraordinary paper from Governor Pickens, of South Carolina. It will be found interesting, as revealing a most important chapter in the history of the war.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
HEADQUARTERS, August 3, 1861.

I have every reason, from information received by me in the most confidential manner, (not forbidding publication, however,) and through one very near the most intimate counsels of the President of the United States, to induce me to believe that the following article was submitted, as a proof sheet, to Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet; that a proclamation in conformity with its general views was to be issued; and that a change in the decision of the Cabinet was made in one night, when exactly the contrary course was adopted. It is asserted in this article, (which in all probability is a proof sheet from a confidential New York paper,) that if the President desired to excite and madden the whole North to a war of extermination against slavery and in favour of the absolute plunder and conquest of the South, he had only to resolve that Major Anderson and his garrison at Fort Sumter should perish, as it appears was well known would have to be the case. Major Anderson and his men were to be used as fuel, to be thrown in to kindle the flames of fanaticism, and to force the Northern people into a united war, which would give the abolition leaders absolute control over the Government and country. What must be the feelings of the civilized world, when it is known that the President of the United States and his Cabinet did so act, and with a view expressly to carry out this policy of exciting the whole Northern mind?

Major Anderson had officially informed the former Administration that he could hold Fort Sumter; and, of course, if the object of that Administration was to betray the Government into the hands of the Secessionists, as is charged in the article, then Major Anderson must have been a party to the treason; and if he informed the new President, on the 4th of March, as is said to be the case, that he could not hold the fort, then he acted out his part fully in aiding to place Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet exactly where they were, and to compel them to evacuate the fortress, or use the garrison as victims, to be slaughtered on the unholy altar of blind fanaticism and mad ambition.

I know the fact from Mr. Lincoln's most intimate friend and accredited agent, Mr. Lamon, that the President of the United States professed a desire to evacuate Fort Sumter, and he (Mr. Lamon) actually wrote me, after his return to Washington, that he would be back in a few days to aid in that purpose—Major Anderson was induced to expect the same thing, as his notes to me prove. I know the fact that Mr. Fox, of the United States Navy, after obtaining permission from me, upon the express guarantee of a former gallant associate in the navy, to visit Major Anderson "for pacific purposes," planned the pretended attempt to relieve and reinforce the garrison by a fleet, and that Major Anderson protested against it. I now believe that it was all a scheme, and that Fox's disgraceful expedition was gotten up, in concert with Mr. Lincoln, merely to delude the Northern public into the belief that they intended to sustain and protect Major Anderson, when, in fact, according to the article now published for the first time, they decided to do no such thing, and acted with the deliberate intention to let the garrison perish, that they might thereby excite the North, and rouse them to unite in this unholy and unnatural war, by which the desperate and profligate leaders of an infuriated and lawless party might gratify their vengeance and lust of power over the ruins of their country, and amid the blind passions of a maddened people.

The document now published, and the peculiar circumstances, show the basest and most infamous motives that have ever actuated the rulers of any people, except, perhaps, in the days of the first French revolution, when history shows that wholesale murder was often planned by insurrectionists in Paris, under the deliberate guidance of malignant leaders, whose whole objects were universal plunder and murder, in order to exterminate one party and ride into power themselves.

A moment's review of the line of argument pursued in the article will show that the policy finally adopted in regard to Fort Sumter was intended and desired by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers to lead to a war, not to be regulated by the rules and usages among civilized and enlightened people, but to one of rapine, murder and utter extermination of the people against whom it was intended to be waged, founded upon no principle of right, seeking not to re-establish any disputed authority, or accomplish any other object than to gratify a lust for power and revenge.

For the purpose of directly proving the motives and impulses of the United States Government in the inauguration of this war, it is only necessary to make several extracts from the article in question, as they will serve also to direct the special attention of the public to those portions which most vividly prove the unhallowed purposes of President Lincoln and his advisers.

One of the chief ends of the article seems to have been the proof of treason on the part of President Buchanan, and through all of its

runs the oft-repeated "alternative" left them by him, of "permitting Major Anderson and his command to starve within fifteen days, or of ignominiously abandoning it to a nest of traitors," &c. This "alternative" is dwelt upon as if to direct special attention to it; and this very "alternative" proves, above all the rest, the purposes which they had in view when they adopted their final policy.

It is argued, and elaborately too, that the purpose of President Lincoln was to "preserve peace"—not to "make war"; "to protect the sacred Constitution" confided to his keeping; and to gain over, by his avowedly peaceful objects those who had defied that "Constitution" and broken its laws. It is asserted that President Lincoln could not suppress the "tears" of anguish which his signing the order for the evacuation of Fort Sumter called forth; and it is said, too, that he desired to "discharge his duty to humanity"; and yet he has chosen to "discharge" that "duty" in the singular way of resolving on a policy which, in his own words, he knew would "raise throughout the mighty North a feeling of indignation, which in ninety days would have emancipated every slave on the continent, and driven their masters into the sea."

The sacrifice was made; Anderson and his command were forced to become liable as victims to fanaticism; Fort Sumter was wrapt in flames; and yet, forsooth, they tell us that the only man who could have prevented it was "resolved to discharge his duty to humanity," and that his purpose was "peace"—his aversion "war." His "purpose" was changed, and he resolved to bring on this unhallowed war. It is a Government actuated with these feelings that we are to defend ourselves against it; it is this kind of war, then, that the people of the South are to meet; and under these circumstances it becomes my duty to publish the article in question for the information of the people of the Confederate States, and for the cool and unbiased contemplation of the civilized world.

A war thus inaugurated—from such motives and under such circumstances—surely can never meet with the favour of Heaven. A people educated and trained up to constitutional liberty can never, for any length of time, sustain such a war.

F. W. PICKENS.

ABANDONMENT OF FORT SUMTER

Necessity Knows no Law.—There are periods in the history of nations and individuals when the force of even this proverb is illustrated. The law, or rather the demands of justice, self-respect, national honour, and the vindication of our nationality in the eyes of Europe, all demand that we should retain possession of Fort Sumter at any and every sacrifice; and no man in this nation is more deeply impressed with the paramount importance of so doing than is Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States. He feels and recognizes his duty in the premises; but the

law of necessity steps in, puts at defiance his wishes and his duty, and sternly forbids his attempting to hold or relieve the noble fortress so promptly snatched from the hands of the rebels and traitors of Charleston by the timely action of Major Anderson.

Buchanan and his traitor Cabinet had deliberately planned the robbing of our arsenals under the superintendence of, and with the connivance of, the miserable fellow Floyd, whose portrait now hangs so conspicuously in the rogue's gallery of our city police; and we all know that when Major Anderson took possession of Fort Sumter, Floyd demanded its restoration to the rebels, and Buchanan actually yielded to the demand, until threatened with danger to his person if he ventured upon any such act of treachery. He yielded to a stern necessity; but in yielding he determined to accomplish by management and finesse what he had not the courage to do openly. He accordingly refused to permit the fort to be reinforced, as it could have been in those days, with the necessary men and stores to enable it to hold out, for a year at least, against any force which could be brought against it; and it was not until after Morris Island had been fortified that he sanctioned the abortive attempt at succour made by the Star of the West; and even countermanded that order before it was carried into effect.

From Christmas until the fourth of March, the traitors and rebels of Charleston and the Cotton States received every countenance and support from Mr. Buchanan which could be afforded them and when he retired from office on the 4th inst., he gloated over the conviction that he had fostered rebellion and treason till they had become so rampant that they were beyond the control of his successor. And the one great source of his glorification was, that Fort Sumter was without provisions; and that, of necessity, the garrison must surrender from starvation before it would be in the power of the Republican Administration to relieve and reinforce it.

Of course, Abraham Lincoln could know nothing of this treason; and when in his inaugural he spoke of occupying the public forts and collecting the revenue, he little dreamed that his predecessor had treasonably arranged to make the abandonment of Fort Sumter a political necessity. He was soon apprised, however, that the treason of his predecessor had cunningly devised for him the most serious mortification that could be inflicted; and that he had presented to him the alternative of permitting Anderson and his command to starve or promptly to withdraw them, and ignominously permit the fort to fall into the hands of the rebels.

To reinforce the garrison or to supply them with provisions are equally impossible; because James Buchanan and his associate traitors designedly refused to do so while it was in their power to do it; and compelled the commandant of the fort quietly to permit the construction of works in his immediate vicinity and under the range of his guns, which would effectually prevent his being relieved when an honest man

assumed the Government on the 4th of March—Buchanan's final act of treason has been consummated. He prevented the late Congress passing a law giving power to the Executive to call for volunteers to occupy and recapture the public forts and arsenals; and he designedly left Fort Sumter in a position which renders relief physically impossible without an army of from ten to twenty thousand men, and the employment of a naval force greater than we can command; and he and his myrmidons now exultingly and tauntingly say to the Republican President: "Do your worst. We have designedly withheld from you the means of relieving and holding Fort Sumter, and we invite you to the pleasing alternative of permitting Anderson and his command to starve within fifteen days, or of ignominiously abandoning it to a nest of traitors and rebels, whom we have nursed into existence, as the only certain mode of destroying the Republican party."

Such are the simple facts of the case as they are presented to the new President upon his assuming the reins of Government; and we speak advisedly and from knowledge when we say that while the country has been wickedly made to believe that the time of the Administration has been occupied with the disposal of offices four-fifths of all the hours spent in consultation by the Cabinet have been devoted to the consideration of the all-important question—how to save Fort Sumter and avert from the Government the dishonour of abandoning it to the miserable traitors who for months have been in rebellion against the authority of the Government? Generals Scott and Totten, and all the military and naval chiefs at Washington, have been consulted; every plan which military science could conceive or military daring suggest has been attentively considered and maturely weighed, with a hope, at least, that the work of the traitor Buchanan was not so complete as he and his associates supposed. But all in vain. There stands the isolated, naked fact—Fort Sumter cannot be relieved because of the treason of the late Administration; and Major Anderson and his command must perish by starvation unless withdrawn.

What, then, is to be done? Could the President leave them to starve? Cui Bono? Would the sacrifice of a handful of gallant men to the treason of thieves and rebels have been grateful to their countrymen? But, says the indignant yet thoughtless patriot, "think of the humiliation and dishonour of abandoning Sumter to the rebels!" We do think of it, and weep tears of blood over the humiliation thus brought upon the country by the traitor President who has just retired to Wheatland to gloat over his consummated treason. And we are assured, too, and do not doubt the truth of the assurance, that when Abraham Lincoln was compelled to yield his reluctant consent to this most humiliating concession to successful treason, he did not attempt to suppress the sorrow and tears which it called forth. But he had no alternative. "Necessity knows no law"; and to save the lives of the gallant men who have so long held Fort Sumter

against an overwhelming force of heartless traitors and wicked and unprincipled rebels, whose treason has been steeped in fraud and theft, vulgarly known as "Southern chivalry," the President of the United States, in the discharge of a duty to humanity, has signed the order for the evacuation of Sumter."

Had war, not peace, been his object—had he desired to raise throughout the mighty North a feeling of indignation, which in ninety days would have emancipated every slave on the continent and driven their masters in the sea if needs be—he had only to have said: "let the garrision of Fort Sumter do their duty and perish beneath its walls; and on the heads of the traitors and rebels of the slavery-propagandists be the consequences." Such a decision would have carried joy to the bosoms of Phillips and Garrison and their fanatical associates, who so justly consider abolitionism and disunion synonymous; but it would have brought upon the country such scenes of horror as the mind shrinks from contemplating. Verily, the blood of the martyrs, would have been the seed of "negro emancipation." For every patriot soldier thus sacrificed to the revival of the African slave trade and the establishment of a hideous slaveocracy at the South, ten thousand negro slaves would have been emancipated and as many of their masters been driven into the ocean to expiate their crimes on earth.

But Mr. Lincoln desired to rouse no such feeling of revenge among the people of the Free States. He knew—no man knew better—that he had but to hold on to Fort Sumter, agreeably to the plainly expressed will of the people, and leave its gallant garrison to the fate prepared for them by rebels and traitors, to insure an uprising which would at once have wiped out slavery from the face of the country; and with it, all engaged in this atrocious rebellion against the Government. But his purpose is peace, not war. His object is to restore, to rebuild and to preserve the Government and the Constitution which enacted it; and his great aim is, while maintaining the Constitution and enforcing the laws, to bring back good men to their allegiance and leave the thieves and rogues and braggarts, who compose the great mass of the rebels under the cognomen of "Southern chivalry," to the uninterrupted enjoyment of their own precious society and the reflections which time must awake even in them. He is mindful of his oath "registered in Heaven," to preserve the Constitution and enforce the laws; and he feels that his mission is to reclaim and not extinguish; or, most assuredly, he could have left Fort Sumter to its fate; and that fate would have been speedy, certain and absolute annihilation to the traitors now in rebellion against the Government, and to the very existence of the institution of slavery on the American Continent. But he has been faithful to his oath of office and to the Constitution; and by yielding to the necessity of the case and listening to the cry of humanity, slavery has had accorded to it its last victory over freedom and the Constitution of the United States.

The deed has been accomplished; the sacrifice has been made; traitors and rebels are again triumphant; and the stars and stripes are again to be dishonoured in the sight of the nation and of astonished Europe. The flag of the Union is to be pulled down, and the bloody banner of pirates, freebooters, rebels and traitors is to be run up to wave triumphantly over Sumter, and be saluted from hundreds of guns in the rebel camp, amid the cheers of thousands whose senseless gasconade and bragadocio vauntings have long since disgusted brave men and honest citizens. And yet, we approve the act. A traitor President rendered it a necessity; and humanity demanded that Abraham Lincoln should sacrifice all personal feelings and gracefully yield to that necessity and the deliberately planned treason upon which it is based. His countrymen will sustain him in this discharge of an humiliating, but an imperative duty; but with him they feel that the account is now closed with treason. There is nothing now to yield to traitors, nothing more to sacrifice in order to give to slavery and the slave-trade the odour of nationality. In future, the President of the United States has only laws to enforce and a Constitution to sustain; and woe be to them who thwart him in the performance of his duty, and to himself if he dares to shrink from the performance of his whole duty.

LADY VIRGINIA MURRAY AND HER ALLEGED CLAIM AGAINST THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

The originals of the documents published below are now owned by the Virginia State Library and were purchased by that institution, through Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, of London, about the year 1910. It is by the courtesy of Doctor Henry R. McIlwaine, State Librarian, that we have been permitted to make copies of the documents for publication in this magazine.

Lady Virginia Murray was the youngest child of John Murray, 4th Lord Dunmore, the last colonial governor of Virginia, and his wife, Lady Charlotte Stewart, daughter of Alexander, 6th Earl of Galloway.

The Lady Virginia's alleged claim to the financial consideration of the state and the basis on which she urged it are certainly unique in the history of Virginia and also, doubtless in the history of the United States. Whatever may have been the verbal offers and promises of individual members of the General Assembly of the colony and whatever letters may have passed on the subject between them and the Earl of Dunmore, there is no evidence whatsoever in the Journal of the House of Burgesses that formal action was taken thereon. The *record* is silent.

Lady Charlotte, wife of Lord Dunmore, arrived in the colony in February, 1774, accompanied by their children, Lord Fincastle, the Honorable Alexander and John Murray, and the Ladies Catherine, Augusta and Susan (Purdie & Dixon's *Virginia Gazette,* March 3, 1774). In Dixon & Hunter's *Virginia Gazette,* December 8, 1774, is this notice: "Last Saturday Morning the Right Honourable the Countess of Dunmore was safely delivered of a Daughter at the Palace. Her Ladyship continues in a very favourable Situation and the young Virginian is in perfect Health." In the *Virginia Gazette* for January 21, 1775, appeared the following: "Wednesday last being the day for celebrating the birth of her Majesty, his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, gave a ball and elegant entertainment at the Palace to a numerous company of Ladies and Gentlemen. The same day his Lordship's youngest daughter was baptized by the name of VIRGINIA."

With the exception of the above quoted mentions of Virginia Murray's birth and christening and the publication of formal resolutions of congratulations the *Gazette* had nothing more to say relative to the "young Virginian."

When Lord Dunmore fled from the colony in June, 1775, with his family of course the little daughter, at that time just eighteen months old, was taken away by her parents and never again was on the soil of her

native state. Burke's "Peerage" in enumerating the children of John, 4th Lord Dunmore, says merely of Virginia that she died unmarried.

It does not appear that the Virginia Legislature took any formal action on the petition of Lady Virginia Murray for the alleged promised "fortune."

The other letters published below and signed "Dunmore" and "A. Murray" were writen by George, 5th Lord Dunmore, and the Honorable Alexander Murray, sons of John, 4th Lord Dunmore (and brothers of the Lady Virginia) relative to property owned in America by their father. "J. Stevens" was evidently their representative in these matters and was probably acting under a "power of attorney" from the Services to whom George, Lord Dunmore and the Lady Virginia had given "general power." "H. Lee" was Governor Henry Lee of Virginia, and "Francis Geo. Gilmer," a member of the prominent Virginia family of that name and evidently employed by Mr. Stevens to look into the records of the Virginia Assembly for any official evidence of a foundation for Lady Virginia's "claim."

To the honorable the State Assembly of Virginia in the United States of America.

The respectful Memorial of Lady Virginia Murray Daughter of the late John Earl of Dunmore.

Sheweth,

That your Memorialist was in the year 1774 & during her late Father's Governorship of the State of Virginia then under the Dominion of the Crown of Great Britain born at Williamsburgh in that State & baptized with the Name of such State.

That on the Occasion of the Birth of your Memorialist the then provincial Assembly of that State in the most friendly Manner waited on your Memorialist's Father with a congratulatory Address & kindly promised & assured him that in the Event of your Memorialist attaining her full Age, it would out of its Resources make a pecuniary Provision for her of £100,000,0,0.

That from the Changes which have since taken Place & from the pleasing Consideration that all adverse Feeling consequent thereon have long since subsided and are now at Rest it has been signified to your Memorialist, & she (considering herself as the adopted Child of that State) has been induced to believe, that on a Promise & Assurance so spontaneously & gratitously given an Appeal to your honorable Assembly on a Subject of such vital

Importance to your Memorialist would not even at this Great Distance of Time be ineffectually made by her, & to this your Memorialist is the more encouraged from the Pressure of existing Difficulties and Embarrassments caused by the Inability of your Memorialists Father to make that suitable Provision for her which it was so much his Wish to have done, but from which he was prevented by a disastrous Concurrence of Circumstances over which he most unhappily had not any Control.

Your Memorialist therefore most respectfully submits her Case to the Consideration of your honorable Assembly in the Hope and Confidence that it may be thought worthy of that Attention which a Claim like your Memorialist's is sure to receive from the just Representatives of a great & generous People.

(Signed) Virginia Murray seal

Paris May 28th 1824

I do certify that Lady Virginia Murray did sign and seal the above Memorial to the Legislature of Virginia in my presence

James Brown seal
Envoy Extraordinary & Minister Plenipo'y
of the United States of America.

(Copy)

Sir/

I am at a loss how to begin a Letter in the which I am desirous of stating claims that may long since have been forgotten—but which I think no time can really annihilate until fulfilment has followed the promise. I imagine that you must have heard that during my Father's the late Earl of Dunmore's residence in America I was born & that the Assembly then sitting at Williamsburg requested I might be their God Daughter, & Christened by the name of Virginia—which request being complied with they proposed providing for me in a Manner suitable to the Honor they conferred upon me—& to the responsibility they had taken

upon themselves—I was accordingly christened as the God Daughter of that Assembly & named after the State—Events have since occurred which in some measure may have altered the intentions then expressed in my favor—these were (so I have understood) that a Sum of Money should be settled upon me, which by accumulating during my minority would make up the sum of one hundred thousand pounds when I became of age—it is true many changes may have taken place in America—but that fact still remains the same,—I am still the God Daughter of the Virginians—by being that—may I not flatter myself I have some claims upon their benevolence—if not upon their Justice? may I not ask the Gentlemen of that state—Especially you Sir their Governor—to fulfil in some respects their Engagements entered into by their Predecessors? Your Fathers promised mine that I should become their charge—& I am totally unprovided for. My Father died without making a will. My Brothers are married having families of their own, & not being bound to do any thing for me—they regard with indifference my unprotected & neglected situation—perhaps I ought not to mention this circumstance as a proper inducement for you to act upon nor would I were it not my excuse for wishing to remind you of the claims I now advance—I hope you will feel my right to your favour of protection to be founded on the promises of your own Fathers, & on the situation in which I stand in regard to the State of Virginia. You will ask Sir—why my appeal to your generosity & Justice have been so tardy? While my Father lived —I lived under his protection & guidance,—he had incurred the displeasure of the Virginians & he feared an application from me then would have seemed like one from him & to him you were bound by no ties—as his subsequent conduct had broken them:—not so with me—at his decease I became a free Agent—I had taken no part which could displeasure my God Fathers—& myself remained what the Assembly had made me—their God Daughter—consequently their charge. I wish particularly to enforce my dependance on your bounty for I feel hopes revive which owe their birth to your known generosity & to that of the State—whose Representative I now address. Now that my Father is no more, I am certain you will remember what merited

your esteem in his character & conduct & forget that which Estranged your hearts from so honorable a man; but should you not—you are too just to visit what you may deem the sins of the Father upon his Luckless Daughter.

I am Sir Your Obedient &c &c

(Signed) Virginia Murray

Trafalgar Place,
opposite Cumberland Gate
Oxford Road
London.

(Backed)

Copy of L'y Virginia Murray's Addressed to Thos Jefferson, Esqr late President of the United States. Original given in charge to Genl. H. Lee Decr 3rd 1815.

Know all Men by these Presents that I the honorable Lady Virginia Murray late of No 1 Gloucester Place Portman Square in the County of Middlesex in England but now or late of the Grand Hotel de Montmorenci Rue Sainte Mare a Paris in the Kingdom of France (Daughter of the right honorable John late Earl of Dunmore in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Scotland deceased formerly Governor for his late Britannick Majesty of the Provinces of Virginia and New York in the United States of America whilst the same was under the Dominion of his said Majesty) Have made ordained authorized constituted and appointed and in my Place and Stead put and deputed and by these Presents Do make ordain authorize constitute and appoint and in my Place and Stead put and depute WILLIAM SERVICE of No 53 Poland Street Oxford Street in the County of Middlesex in England, Gentleman and John Service of Charleston and Pineville in the State of South Carolina in the said United States Gentleman (son of the said William Service) my true and lawful Attorney and Attornies for me and in my name and to and for the proper Use and Behoof of me my Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns (as the case may be) to receive of and from the Honorable State Assembly of Virginia in the said United States or the Person or Per-

sons thereby duly authorized or empowered or whom else it may concern to deliver the same and every such Sum and Sums of Money Grant and Grants of Estate or Estates Allottments Plantations Houses Buildings Lands Woods Islands Heriditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever and wheresoever in the said United States or an Equivalent for the same as the Government of the said United States may determine to give grant or convey or direct to be paid to me my Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns (as the case may be) and to take Possession in my Name and on my Behalf of all and every the Premises as shall be so given granted or conveyed or directed to be paid whether in Houses Buildings Lands or real Estate or in Money or in the Public or Government Stocks or Funds of the said United States or other personal estates and on receiving such Grant or Grants or Payment in Lieu thereof to sign and give effectual acknowledgments Receipts Discharges Acquittances and Releases in my Name and on my Behalf for the same and generally to do perform and execute all every or any other Act Matter or Thing whatsoever in relating to or concerning the Premises and every Part of them as fully and effectually to all Intents and Purposes as I the said Lady Virginia Murray might or could do if I was personally present and did the same and I hereby ratify confirm and allow all and whatsoever my said attornies the said William Service and John Service or either of them shall lawfully do or cause to be done in and concerning the Premises by virtue of these Presents. In witness whereof I the said Lady Virginia Murray have hereto set my Hand and Seal this..... Day of..... in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four

(signed) Virginia Murray (seal)

Sealed and delivered in the
presence of
Paris 28 May 1824

I do certify that Lady Virginia Murray did sign and seal the above instrument of writing in my presence

(signed) James Brown (seal)
Envoy Extrr. and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America

Sir

I respectfully take leave to enclose your Honor, a Copy of a Memorial which I have caused to be laid by my Agent Mr John Service of Charlestown & Pineville South Carolina before the Honorable the State Assembly of Virginia.

When you were Ambassador at our Court, I understood, that you were so kind as to express yourself to my mother the late Countess of Dunmore, as taking a friendly interest in the concerns of her family & when she (considering me as the adopted child of that State) mentioned to you my individual claim, as now stated in the accompanying Copy of my Memorial; you in the most handsome manner offered, in case of my making such claim, your assistance in support of it.

Having now presented it, I take the liberty of soliciting your Honors powerful aid and in its furtherance, with which should I be so fortunate as to be favored, I shall consider my success as certain.

Permit me Sir to add that, I have instructed my Agent to be at all times ready to receive your Honors Commands.

I have the Honor to be Sir y^r^

most ob^t^ &c &c

May 20th 1824 Virginia Murray

Milady Virginia Murray
chez
Messrs Daly Bonquiers
Rue de Provence N° 26
Paris

(Addressed) To the Honble.
James Monroe,
President of the United States
of America.

Wednesday noon [November 1825?]

Dear Sir

On reading the letter from your sister with critical attention, I find that I totally misunderstood two passages which begat my wish to make some alterations in it. There [these?] cannot be made as I find this letter not only correct where I judged it defective but thought most proper. I advise that it be addressed to "Thomas Jefferson late President of the U S" & enclosed with your mothers to Mr Monroe with one from yourself.

You may account for the delay in addition to what has been said by the misunderstanding for years between our governments & the war which ensued.

You will have to write home & request authenticated copys of the letters or papers which apply to the province of the Virginia assembly when your sister took the name of the State then colony. Be sure to request that our minister certify the genuiness of the copys.

I will prepare my letters convenience & flatter myself that your sister will succeed.

Everything shall be done by me my son & friends to second her claim; but as I said before the donation will probably be lands.

Adios mio Segnor

(Backed) H. Lee
from Genl. Lee,
about Virginia's letter.
Nover. 1815 (1825?)

Glenfinest near Greenock
August 12th 1818

Sir [1]

My Father, the late Earl of Dunmore, when Governor of Virginia made many Purchases in that Province previous to its Independence. The struggle which took place between the Mother Country and its Provinces for a time prevented many possessors from keeping . . . hold of their Land. Some

[1] There is nothing to indicate to whom this letter was addressed.

time previous to my Father's death he sent out my Brother the late Capt[n] J. Murray R: N: to recover his Property in America. When in America my Brother Capt[n] Murray found no person more active in assisting him by kind offices than Col Hamilton and with Col Hamilton were left many of the most important Documents relative to my Fathers possessions in that quarter of the World. If this report be true, and that Col Hamilton also left you these Documents I should consider myself very much obliged to you, if any such papers are in your hands, that you would give them to the Bearer of this Letter M[r] Service that he might pursue my Claims, and establish my rights to the lands in question. If you would give yourself the trouble also of keeping a Memorandum of these Documents, in case of death or loss of them by any means, you would add very much to the obligations of your most

obedient humble
Serv[t]
Dunmore

Dunmore, near Falkirk, Scotland
Dec[ber] 14th 1824

Sir

Understanding that you have some papers in your possession which might throw much light in establishing my claims to property supposed to have belonged to my late Father, L[d] Dunmore, I should feel myself much indebted to you if you would be so kind as to give them to M[r] Service who is engaged by me to recover the above mentioned property. At the time you are so obliging as to give them up to M[r] Service might I request you to take a List of them and the heads of their Contents, and to forward the same to me directed for L[d] Dunmore, Falkirk, Scotland For your undertaking all this trouble believe me I shall consider as your very indebted and obliged

Dunmore

—Gray Esq. Consul, Norfolk, Virginia.

Dunmore, Falkirk—Scotland
Dec^ber 14th 1824

Madam

Understanding that you have some papers in your possession which might throw much light in establishing my claims to property supposed to have belonged to my late Father Ld Dunmore I should feel myself much indebted, if you would be so kind as to give them to Mr Service who is engaged by me to recover the above mentioned property. At the time you are so obliging as to give them up to Mr Service might I request you to take a List of them and the heads of their Contents and to forward the same to me, directed for Ld Dunmore, near Falkirk—Scotland. For your undertaking all this trouble believe me I shall consider myself as your very obliged Servt

Dunmore

To Mrs. Hastie

Copy No 1

Norfolk 21st March 1820

Dear Sir—The first accounts I received upon my coming to this place was the death of Mr Hastie about three months ago, upon which I waited upon Mr Gray the British Consul who I find was a friend of your mothers, but none of the papers being handed over to him, he referred me to Mr Taswell, Solicitor to Col^l Hamilton, from whose information it was concluded they were among Mr Hastie's papers in the hands of his Widow, & learning she kept a Boarding House I immediately took up my quarters with her, & in consequence of her recollection of this letter I forwarded to Mr Hastie from Ld Dunmore she permitted me to search among them, when I found Copies of all the Papers which I had myself made for Cap^n Murray & all Cap^n Murray's letters to Col^l Hamilton as well as the letter of the various parties here to Col^l H. acknowledging receipts of the several originals & otherwise relating to the Business from which I made the necessary extracts to direct me to these people, to whom I will personally apply. In the mean time as both you & myself may have

occasion to refer to these papers, I have got these papers to be handed over to Mr William Gray British Consul Norfolk. To this Gentleman I would recommend you or any other of Captn Murray's friends to correspond as the proper successor of Coll Hamilton & equally having been your mother's friend. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Hunt in Charleston & delivering to him your letter, he tells me he had written you fully his opinion respecting Lady Virginia's claim on the State of Virginia—but shall now very soon have an opportunity of giving you the opinion of the authorities to whom you have honored me with letters

I am Dr Sir Yrs &c (Signed) J. Stevens

Copy No 2

Philadelphia May 5th 1820

Dear Sir

Since I wrote you from Norfolk I will now detail my progress in your Business. On the 21st March I set out from Norfolk to Williamsburg on foot 34 miles then boat 18 miles. I there saw Mr Waller who knew your family very well when there, he said he never heard of such a promise made respecting Lady Virginia, but recommends my going at once to Mr Jefferson before I took any other step in that Business—on the 3rd of April I set out for Richmond 86 miles & saw Mr Wickham but the Courts were sitting & he so much engaged that he could not then look over his papers, but I engaged Mr Gilmer to do what might be necessary after I had seen Mr Jefferson, at Monticello the Seat of the latter 76 miles Westwardly I arrived on the 10th. He told me he had some time ago secured a Copy of the letter, he did not recollect that any such promise was ever made, altho Lady Dunmore was very much respected by all the Virginians, & expressed something of regret at not being encouraged to pay his Respects to her Ladyship with his daughter at Paris some years afterwards, however he recommended my getting Mr Gilmer whom he knew very well to search the Records, if any such was made he had no doubt it would now be made good agreeably to the fixed value of Land at that time about he thought 3£ Curry per 100 acres. I immediately wrote Mr Gilmer to write me the result—to meet me at

Washington to regulate my proceedings there. I crossed the blue Mountains & down the Valley 112 miles to Winchester & saw Col[l] Charles M[c] Gill. He told me he could have sold Capt[n] Murray's Land at Romny some years ago for pr 8000 Dollars, could he have had authority, he was on his Way to Norfolk to Col[l] Hamilton to get such but the war broke out & averted him in his progress, & he wondered hearing nothing from the family about it since, since then some Squatters were upon it, & the State had contemplated taking possession, he had continued paying the Taxes & now with proper authority it might yet be sold. He thought a power of Attorney would be best sent by Lord Dunmore as some question might arrise about its being entailed property, now you must judge how that may be due, at all events as soon as possible send out a full & general power of attorney either from L[d] Dunmore as Heir at Law which would be most effectual, & you might previously come to an understanding with him, or if you think best from the Executors of Capt[n] Murray, but if L[d] Dunmore is one of them surely the first plan might be done more easily, at all events a full power of Attorn[y] to Charles M[c] Gill Esq[r] —Winchester—Virginia & I submit it your joining my name jointly & severally not to interfere with his proceedings but merely to authorize my urging that, or other concerns in other quarters, make it a power to substitute other persons here if necessary—inclose the Power to McGill's address & it will reach him if sent by any ship to Norfolk Baltimore Philadelphia or New York—let this be done immediately & I think it will be followed by a remittance to you on this score. There was a Law suit with one Snickers about a Farm upon the Shenander River, this I find was removed to the Supreme Court at Richmond under M[r] Wickhams care I went to the . . . where Snickers lived 34 miles from Winchester but the old man is dead & the Farm sold, how this is, must be the subject of inquiry by M[r] Gilmer at Richmond or myself some other time, from thence to Alexandria 52 miles, here I was disappointed in not getting my Portmanteau with Cloths to appear at Washington & some papers he Major Lee forgot to send as arranged when I was with him, but at Washington I met M[r] Gilmer as follows.

Richmond 17 Apl 1820.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 12th received the earliest attention I could give it, & as Mr Jefferson told you, he would do any thing *he* could to oblige Lady Dunmore—so would I to oblige Lady Virginia Murray, but nothing can be done. I searched the Journal from 1773 the Countess of Dunmore arrived in 1774 for on the 7th May 1774 the House congratulated Lord Dunmore on her arrival, from that date till the 6th June 1778 when Lord Dunmore abandoned the Government & went on board the Fowey. I have looked most carefully & no trace of any such compact can be found. The oldest Inhabitant remembers nothing of it & it could not pass unnoticed, & I assure you if it were even so well proved I should find it difficult to allow that even in point of morality there was any obligation on the present Commonwealth to make the donation & in Law or good Faith there surely can be some. Still should the Lady Virginia find other Documents or better Title, the Gallantry of my Country would I am sure (however small her hereditary claim to our regard may be) do her more than justice—for myself I surely will

Yours respectfully
(Signed) Francis Geo. Gilmer

J. Stevens Esqr
Washington.

After this letter even if I had had my Portmanteau—I should have deferred waiting on the President & British Minister until I heard from you. I called upon Mr Key at Georgetown into whose hands were first put the original Patent for the immense Indian Grant in the State of New York. Every opinion seems so adverse to any hope from this quarter, but he had written Captn Murray one of the Parties interested was applying to Congress old Mr Key was dead but his nephew thought a suit in the supreme court had been pending in this case, & referred me to Mr Caldwell at Washington, Mr Caldwell could give me no information unless I could give him the name of the Party sueing, this probably may be had by reference to Keys original with the Papers at Norfolk, which shall also be had by me at some other time.

I am Sir &c. (Signed) J. Stevens

Copy No. 3

Trimley near Basshit July 17 1820

Sir

In a letter from Mr Stevens dated the 21st of March 1820 from Norfolk, he informs me that you were so obliging as the Friend of my Deceased Brother the Honble Captn Murray to take charge of some letters & Papers belonging to him, which the Widow of the late Mr Hastie committed to your Custody—and supposing them still to be under your charge it will plead my apology with you—for requesting that you together with Mr Stevens will do me the favor of examining all the Papers referred to—& of selecting from them all such Papers as you may deem relevant to the Property claimed in right of my Deceased Father John the late Earl of Dunmore—& after such selection request you will do me the favor of delivering them to Charles McGill Esqr—of Winchester Virginia—whom my Brother the present Earl of Dunmore has appointed his Atty as Heir at Law to my Deceased Father—as also as one of the Executors of my Deceased Brother —with respect to the more private & confidential letters of my Deceased Brother I shall feel a particular gratification in your doing me the favor of having them forwarded to me by any Gentleman who will take charge of & promise to deliver them personally in London (at the Messrs Drummonds Bankers Charing Cross) for me. Hoping you will excuse this trouble I am Sir—Yr Hble Svt

(Signed) A. Murray

(Backed) Copies of Mr Stevens correspondence with the Honble. A. Murray, from America, &c. &c. &c.

Consulate of the
United States of
America, Glasgow.

I DAVID WALKER, Consul of the United States of America for Glasgow and the Dependencies thereof, do hereby certify to all to whom these Presents shall come, that The Right Honourable Lord Dunmore signed the annexed Document in my pres-

ence and that Alexander McGregor Esqr is a Justice of Peace for the County of Lanark & that to all his acts as such full faith is & ought to be given.

Given under my hand and official Seal in Glasgow aforesaid, this 14th Day of December in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty four and of the Idependence of the United States the Forty-ninth

(signed) Dav Walker.

(Consulate Seal)

Joseph Sutor of the City of Glasgow, in the County of Lanark in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Scotland maketh Oath that he was present on the fourteenth Day of December instant at Glasgow in the said County and did then and there see the Right honorable George Earl of Dunmore in that part of the said United Kingdom called Scotland and in the annexed Letter of Attorney particularly so described sign seal and as his Act and Deed in due Form of Law deliver the said Letter of Attorney and that the name "Dunmore" thereto set and subscribed as the Party executing the same is of the proper Hand-writing of the said Earl and that name "Jo Sutor" thereto also set and subscribed as the Party attesting the Execution thereof by the said is of the proper Hand-writing of this Deponent.

(signed) Jo Sutor.

Sworn at Glasgow in the County of Lanark aforesaid before me one of his Britannic Majesty's Justices for the said County this fourteenth Day of December one thousand eight hundred and twenty four.

Alex McGregor, J. P.

Know all Men by these Presents that I the Right honorable George Earl of Dunmore in that Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Scotland Have made ordained authorized constituted and appointed and in my Place and Stead

put and deputed and by these Presents do make ordain authorize constitute and appoint and in my Place and Stead put and depute WILLIAM SERVICE of No. 93, Newman Street Oxford Street in the County of Middlesex in England, Gentleman and JOHN SERVICE of Charleston in the State of South Carolina in the United States of America, Gentleman and each of them my true and lawful Attorney and Attornies for me and in my name and to and for the proper Use and Behoof of me my Heirs Executors Administrators and Assigns (as the Case may be and according to the nature Quality and Description of the Property sought to be received and delivered up and hereinafter particularly mentioned) to receive of and from the Persons exercising the Government of the said United States or those by them duly authorized and empowered or whomsoever else it shall or may concern to deliver the same all and every the Estate and Estates Allotments Plantations Houses Buildings Lands Woods Islands Heriditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever and wheresoever within the said United States and which were formerly the Estate of the Right honorable John late Earl of Dunmore my late Father deceased (formerly Governor for his late Britannic Majesty of the then Provinces of Virginia and New York in the said United States whilst the same were under the Dominion of his said Majesty) or otherwise howsoever situate lying and being in the Counties of Fairfax and Botetourt in the said Province of Virginia in the said United States or elsewhere in the said United States and on the Delivery up of such Estates Allottments Plantations Houses Buildings Lands Islands Heriditaments and Appurtenances or any part of them to sign and give effectual Acknowledgments Receipts Discharges Acquittances and Releases for the same and from Time to Time to appoint and substitute any other attorney or attornies Agent or agents for the Purposes aforesaid or any or either of them and at Pleasure to revoke any such appointment or substitution and generally to do perform and execute all every or any other Act Matter or Thing whatsoever in relating to or concerning the Premises and every Part of them as fully and effectualy to all Intents and Purposes as I the said George Earl of Dunmore might or could do if I was personally present and did the same and I hereby ratify confirm and

allow all and whatsoever my said Attornies the said William Service and John Service or either of them their or either of their Attorney or Attornies Agent or Agents shall lawfully do or cause to be done in and concerning the Premises by virtue of these Presents. In witness whereof I said George Earl of Dunmore have hereunto subscribed my Hand and set my Seal this Fourteenth Day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty four.

(signed) Dunmore. (seal)

Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of
(signed) Jo Sutor
(Backed) The Right honble.
The Earl of Dunmore
to
Messrs Wm Service and John Service

Letter of Attorney

RECOMMENDATIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS OF MILITARY AND CIVIL OFFICERS IN BRUNSWICK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, MARCH 1777 TO OCTOBER 1782.

March 25, 1777.—William Thornton, Thomas Stith, John Jones, Douglass Witkins [Wilkins?] see Exch. list, John Flood Edmunds, Richard Elloit, John Powell, Frederick Maclin and William Stark Gent. recommended to Executive as fit persons to continue in the Commission of the peace for this County. *Nicholas Edmunds,* John Clack, Edward Travis and Benjamin Simmons Gent. who refused to qualify, Augustine Willis and George Elloitt Gent. who has removed out of this County to be left out of the said Commission. Alexander Watson, Thomas Edmunds, Andrew Meade, Daniel Call, William Walker, William Paterson, Joseph Peebles, Thomas Claiborne, Thomas Wingfield, William Mason and William Vaughan Gent. recommended to be added to the said Commission. Clerk to wait on executive praying Commission of peace for this County agreeable to above Recommendation.

March 25, 1777.—For Reasons appearing to the Court It is Ordered that John Jones, John Flood Edmunds and Richard Elloitt Gent. do wait on his Excellency the Governor in Council to give Information against Thomas Stith Gent. respecting his Conduct in Life, which in the Opinion of this Court is greatly repugnant to his office as a Magistrate for this County.

April 28, 1777.—Thomas Claiborne Lawrence Howse, and Sterling Harris Captains, John Warren, Lieutenant, Lewis Hicks and Henry Howse, Ensigns, of the Militia of this County took the oath.

John Flood Edmunds Gent. produced Commission appointing him Sheriff of this county and took the Oaths. Benjamin Simmons and Henry Tazewell his securities.

May 28, 1777.—Christopher Thrower Lieutenant of a Militia Company of this County took the Oath.

July 28, 1777.—William Vaughan, John Jeter, Paul Hartwell Captains, Joseph Kidd, James Tomlinson, Philip Person, Lieutenants, and Jesse Dupree and Zebulon Lewis Ensigns in the Militia of County took the Oath.

July 28, 1777.—A Commission of the Peace and of Oyer and Terminer for this County directed to William Thornton, Thomas Stith, John Jones, Douglas Wilkins, John Flood Edmunds, Richard Elloit, John Powell, Frederick Machlin, William Stark, Alexander Watson, Thomas Edmunds, Andrew Meade, Daniel Call, William Wingfield, William Mason, and William Vaughan Gentlemen being read, whereupon Thomas Stith and John Jones Administered the Oath Of Allegiance of the Commonwealth according to Law unto William Thornton who took the same together with the Oath of a Justice of Peace and also of Oyer and Terminer, and then the said William Thornton Administered all the said Oaths to the said Thomas Stith, John Jones, Douglas Wilkins, Richard Elloit, John Powell, Alexander Watson, Daniel Call, William Paterson, Joseph Peebles, Thomas Claiborne, and William Vaughan Gent. who also took the same according to Law. Present the above named qualified Justices.

Recommendations for Field Officers for the two Battalions of this County according to Law, viz: John Jones, Colonel, Daniel Fisher Lieutenant Colonel, and Alexander Watson Major, in the first Battalion John Flood Edmunds Colonel, Stirling Edmunds Lieutenant Colonel and Douglas Wilkins Major in the second Battalion.

September 22, 1777.—James Harrison Capt., Grief Harwell first Lieutenant, Mark Steed Second Lieutenant, John Dupree, and Sackfield Bracey Ensigns in the Militia took the Oaths.

November 24, 1777.—Alexander Watson and Douglas Wilkins Major, Henry Walton, Benjamin Goodrich, Henry Briggs and Thomas Haynes Captains, John Hardaway Isham Williams, Hinchia Pettway, William Randle, Peter Randle, John Fisher, Henry Jackson, John Clayton, William Walker, John Mosely and Moses Pritchett Lieutenants, Benjamin Lanier, John Lightfoot, Hinchia Gilliam, Alexander Williams, Moses Quarles and Charles King Ensigns in Militia of County qualified.

December 22, 1777.—John Hicks Captain, Lewis Hicks and William Hamilton Lieutenants, George Hicks and Classon Wray Ensigns qualified.

Daniel Fisher Esq. Lieutenant Colonel and Littleberry Robinson Captain qualified.

February 23, 1778.—John Jones Colonel, and Sterling Edmunds Lieutenant Colonel qualified.

March 23, 1778.—John Flood Edmunds Gent present Sherif Douglas Wilkins and Richard Elloit Gent. are recommended to Executive as proper persons to Execute the Office of Sheriff of this County for ensuing year.

May 25, 1778.—John Dawson Captain, and George Sabetton Ensign took the Oaths.

June 22, 1778.—Frederick Maclin Esq. personally appeared before the Court and resigned his Office of County Lieutenant which is Ordered to be Certified to His Excellency the Governor in Council.

Ordered that John Jones Esq. be recommended to His Excellency the Governor in Council as a proper person to execute the Office of County Lieutenant of the Militia in this County according to Law.

Recommendations for Field Officers to command the two Battalions of Militia in this County according to Law viz. John Flood Edmunds Colonel, Sterling Edmunds Lieutenant Colonel, and Douglas Wilkins Major of the first Battalion, and Daniel Fisher Colonel and Alexander Watson Lieutenant Colonel for the second Batallion of the Militia of this County. For reasons appearing to the Court the recommendation of a Major to the second Battalion is postponed till the next Court.

October 28, 1778.—James Marshall as Captain, Hamilton Freeman as first Lieutenant Joshua Wingfield as Second Lieutenant, and Anthony Gresham as Ensign recommended to Executive as proper persons to command a Company of Militia in this County.

John Haskins Captain qualified.

November 23, 1778.—James Tomlinson recommended to Executive as a Captain Peterson Thweatt the same as next above.

John Jones County Lieutenant, Daniel Fisher Col. Alexander Watson Lieutenant Colonel, James Tomlinson and Peterson Thweat Captain, qualified.

January 25, 1779.—John Flood Edmunds Gent qualified as Justice of the Peace.

Richard Elliott Gent. recommended for Major in second Battalion, of County, and William Batte, and William Maclin as Captains.

June 8, 1779.—James Wall, James Tomlinson, Philip Person, Henry Haley, Drury Stith, Robert Reives, Littleberry Robinson, and James Marshall recommended to be added to Commission of the Peace for this County.

January 25, 1779.—Henry Simmons Captain qualified.

February 22, 1779.—Douglas Wilkins and Richard Elloitt Majors, John Clayton Captain, John Pritchett, James Robinson, William Allen, Aristotle Eldridge, and Joseph Browder Lieutenants qualified.

April 27, 1778.—Douglas Wilkins Esq. produced a Commission appointing him Sheriff of the County and qualified. Daniel Fisher and Peter Pelham Gent. securities.

Thomas Edmunds and William Walker Gent. qualified as Justices of the Peace.

February 23, 1779.—Henry Cook Lieutenant and John Anderson Ensign qualified.

June 28, 1779.—William Batte Captain qualified.

August 23, 1779.—James Marshall Captain, Cuddy Harrison, Charles Harrison, Jr., Hamlin Freeman Lieutenants, and Braddock Goodwyne Ensign qualified.

September 27, 1779.—William Walker, William Machlin Captains, William Tarpley, Drury Matthis Lieutenants, and John Green an Ensign qualified.

September 28, 1779.—Littleberry Robinson Gent. qualified as Justice of the Peace.

October 25, 1779.—James Wall, James Tomlinson, Drury Stith, John Haskins and James Marshall Gentlemen qualified as Justices of the Peace.

Ingram Blanks recommended as a Captain, Burrel Grigg as a first Lieutenant, Frederick Grigg as a second Lieutenant, and John Lawrence as an Ensign.

February 28, 1780.—Daniel Fisher Colonel, Douglas Wilkins Lieutenant Colonel and Joseph Peebles Major recommended to Executive as proper persons to Command the first Battalion, and Alexander Watson Colonel, Richard Elloitt Lieutenant Colonel, and Thomas Edmunds Major to Command the second Battalion of Militia.

March 10, 1780.—William Collier Captain, Zebulon Lewis First Lieutenant, Epraim Parham, Second Lieutenant, and Peter Hawthorn Ensign are recommended as Officers for a Company of the Militia.

April 24, 1780.—William Blalock a Lieutenant and Michael Filley as Ensign qualified.

Henry Jackson first Lieutenant, Alexander Williams second Lieutenant and Mark Crowder and Asa Gresham Ensigns are recommended as Offices for the Militia.

June 26, 1780.—For reasons appearing to the Court time is given 'till the next Court to John Flood Edmunds to consider whether he will then qualify to his Commission appointing him Sheriff of this County or not.

July 24, 1780.—William Collier, Captain, and John Sturdivant, Lieutenant, in the Militia of this County qualified to their Commissions according to Law.

Cuthbert Harrison, Captain, William Harrison, Gent., Captain, Charles Harrison, Braddock Goodwynne, William Caudle, and Henry Rawlings Lieutenants, Lewis Parham and William Rawlings Ensigns recommended as Offices in the Militia.

Turner Bynum, Captain, Alexander Williams, Lieutenant, and Mark Crowder Ensign in the Militia qualified.

John Flood Edmunds, Gent. produced a Commission appointing him Sheriff of this County and qualified. Sterling Edmunds and Thomas Edmunds securities.

Howell Eldridge, Briggs Goodrich, Edmund Webb and Charles Edmunds are permitted to execute the Offices of Under Sheriffs of this County they having respectively taken the Oaths to this Commonwealth and of their Offices according to law.

August 29, 1780.—William Mason Captain, Henty Mangum, second Lieutenant, and John Woodroof an Ensign recommended as Offices in the Militia.

November 27, 1780.—Edmund Wilkins and Henry Cook, Captain, Charles Lucas, & John Pritchett first Lieutenant, Thomas Dearborn, and Absalom Harris second Lieutenants, and Thomas Cooke and John Sherland Ensign, recommended as Offices in the Militia.

November 27, 1780.—Moses Pritchett a second Lieutenant, and Thomas Williams an Ensign recommended as Offices in the Militia.

January 2, 1781.—John Flood Edmunds Sheriff, with Charles Edmunds and Edmund Webb his Securities entered into and acknowledged their Bond in the penalty of One hundred thousand pounds Conditioned for the said Edmund's faithfully Collection of the Taxes according to Law which is Ordered to be recorded.

March 26, 1781.—William Goodrich Captain, Braddock Goodwyn, Lieutenant & Lewis Parham Ensign of the Militia qualified. John Flood Edmunds (present Sheriff who refused to continue in office) Richard Elloitt and John Powell Gentlemen, recommended as fit persons to execute the Office of Sherif of this County.

April 23, 1781.—Peter Hawthorn Ensign in the Militia qualifyed to his Commission.

June 25, 1781.—Joseph Peebles Lieutenant Colonel, Henry Ledbetter Captain, John Sims, 1st. Lieutenant & William Allen 2d. Lieutenant & James Rawlings Ensign recommended as Offices in the Militia.

August 27, 1781.—Howell Eldridge recommended to be Captain to the Company whereof Henry Briggs was Capt. & William Bishop as Ensign. Joshua Wingfield is Recommended as 1st. Lieutenant A. Grissom as 2d. Lieutenant & Lewis Melone as En-

sign of James Marshall's Company. Richard Elloitt refused to qualify as Sherif under his Commission and John Powell the other named in the last recommendation also refused to act as Sheriff.

Thomas Edmunds, Andrew Meade & William Walker Gent. recommended to execute the office of Sherif of this County—the others recommended having refused to act.

November 26, 1781.—Benjamin Jones Gent. is recommended to His Excellency the Governor to be reinstated in his former place in the Commission of the peace of this County. And Christopher Haskins, Buckner Stith (son of Drury) James Lucas, Richard Lamb, James Fletcher, John Hicks, William King, John Rojer, Binns Jones, Benjamin Blck [Black or Blick?], Lewis Parham, James Harrison & Grieff Harwell as fit persons to be added to the said Commission.

January 28, 1782.—Recommendations of Thomas Edmunds as Lieut. Colonel, Thomas Claiborne as Major, Buckner Stith as Capt. in the room of Benjamin Jones who resigned Christopher Thomas as Capt. to Thos. Claiborne's Company. Lewis Hicks first Lieutenant, Sackfield Bracy 2d. Lieutenant & William Ezell Ensign.

Thomas Edmunds Gentleman produced Commission appointing him Sherif and qualified. John Edmunds, Edmund Webb, Briggs Goodrich & John Williams admitted & sworn his under Sherifs.

Henry Ledbetter, & Christopher Thrower Captains, Lewis Hicks 1st. Lieut. James Smith Ensign & Lewis Parham 2d. Lieutenant of Militia severally qualifyed to their Commissions.

February 25, 1782.—Richard Lamb Gent. qualified as a Justice of the Peace.

October 28, 1782.—Wm. Blalock recommended as Capt. in Militia in room of Lawrence House—Christopher Mason 1st. Lieutenant—Reubin Blanton 2d. Lieut. & Uriah Nanny Ensign.

Wm. Ezell Ensign in the Militia qualifyed to his Commission.

The above "recommendations and qualifications" were copied from the order books of Brunkwick County Court.

THE HEATHS OF NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY, VIRGINIA

By Mrs. O. A. Keach, of Wichita, Kansas.

Thomas Heath appears twice in the records of Northumberland County, Virginia. On January 20, 1687, he sued John Flowers and in February, 1687, Richard Hull brought suit against Thomas Heath. Thomas Heath's widow, Mary (who was probably not his first wife) married Captain William Lee and after Captain Lee's death married Bartholomew Schreever.* A court record of September 16, 1696, designates her as Mary Schreever, formerly Heath, executrix of Captain William Lee.

1. Thomas Heath,[1] of Northumberland County, who died before 1690, had issue (so it would seem from the Northumberland County Order and Will Books):

2. *William,*[2] 3. *Samuel,*[2] 4. *Thomas,*[2] 5. *Peter,*[2] 6. *Elizabeth,*[2] and possibly 7. a daughter who married John Curtis. On January 20, 1709, Colonel Richard Lee moved the Court that the Sheriff summon Mary Schreever, Samuel Heath, Thomas Heath, John Burne and John Curtis to appear and answer certain questions in Lee's behalf.

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* Bartholomew Schreever[2] was son of Bartholomew Schreever,[1] one of the early settlers in Northumberland County. Mary Dennis (daughter of Pascal and Barbara Dennis) was either the mother or first wife of Bartholomew Schreever.[2] The will of Dennis Schreever was presented May 15, 1717, by Thomas Waddy, executor. He was probably the son of Bartholomew Schreever,[1] the immigrant. The will of Bartholomew Schreever[2] was proved March 15, 1721. He names wife Mary, his son Bartholomew Schreever,[3] and directs that mourning rings should be presented to Mr. Richard Lee, Mr. Charles Lee and wife, Mr. Samuel Heath and wife, Mr. Thomas Heath and wife, Mr. Thomas Waddy and wife, and his sister Bowley (probably wife of Simon Bowley).

Bartholomew Schreever[3] (Bartholomew[2], Bartholomew[1]) married Sarah Hull, and his will dated December 14, 1727, proved April, 1728, appointed his brother Samuel Heath, his sole executor. He left one child, Elizabeth Schreever, who died unmarried.

2. William Heath[2] (Thomas[1]) was appointed constable for the Upper Parts of Wicomicoa Parish May 18, 1717. He married probably Ann Ball, daughter of Captain George Ball. On May 20, 1719, Ann Heath, relict of William Heath made oath that the said William Heath made no will and she was admitted administrator of his estate. Issue:

8. Samuel Heath.[2] On May 21, 1729, Samuel, son of William Heath was apprenticed to Ralph Rutherford.

3. Samuel Heath[2] (Thomas[1]) was sub-sheriff in Northumberland in 1712 and Justice of the Peace for several years. He married Ann, daughter of James and Elizabeth Johnson (WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY). The will of Samuel Heath was proved March 18, 1730, but the will book in which it was recorded is missing. His executors were Captain William Eustace and Colonel Thomas Lee.

Samuel Heath had four daughters:

9. Elizabeth Heath,[3] she married *first,* about 1737, Charles Jones (son of Captain William and Leanna (Lee) Jones); *secondly,* Henry Miller. Charles and Elizabeth (Heath) Jones had a daughter, Ann Jones who married Walter Jameson.* On June 13, 1737, Mary and Ann Heath

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* October 10, 1757 Walter Jameson and Ann his wife made a deed. Leanna Lee in her will proved August 10, 1761, left a legacy to Samuel Heath Jameson who was her grandnephew. The following interesting record will make this relationship clear. November 1, 1785, Dr. Samuel Heath Jameson of North Carolina conveyed to Thomas Gaskins of Wicomico Parish, 150 acres at the head of the Dividing Creek adjoining land of Mr. George Dameron and Wm. Garlington. There follows a detailed description of the land the substance of which is as follows: A patent for 950 acres first granted to Capt. John Haynie on January 30, 1650. It was deserted by Haynie and again patented by Richard Linny, March 22, 1666, and sold by him to Thomas Brewer Jan. 24, 1667, and sold by Brewer to John Nickless Dec. 10, 1671 and descended to his grandson John Nickless and by him sold to Samuel Heath Nov. 2, 1720, and descended to his (Heath's) daughter Elizabeth (either by devise or right of inheritance) which said daughter first intermarried with (Charles) Jones and after his death she married Henry Miller who by her will bearing date March 10, 1758 bequeathed afore said 150 acres to her grandson Samuel Heath Jameson, first party to this indenture.

chose Charles Jones as guardian and he was appointed guardian of Judith Heath; these children were all orphans of Samuel Heath.

10. Mary Heath[3] married *first,* March 12, 1739, Thomas (son of John) Pope; *secondly,* William Tebbs. Mary Heath chose Charles Jones as her guardian in June, 1737, Judith (daughter of Samuel) Heath chose Thomas Pope as her guardian. July 9, 1739, Thomas Pope and George Conway sue for a division of Samuel Heath's estate. On June 14, 1743, Mary Pope made a deed to George Oldham for ¼ part of a water mill left her by her father Samuel Heath, which formerly belonged to Bartholmew Schreever. In 1748/9, William Tebbs and Mary, his wife, daughter of Samuel Heath, gave a deed to land granted to orphans of John Dennis which was patented September, 1699.

11. Ann Heath,[3] born May 9, 1721, married *first,* George Conway; *second,* December 30, 1754, Travers Downman. (Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies.*) David Ball (son of Captain George Ball) calls Ann Heath Conway his "cousin."

12. Judith Heath[3] married John Sorrell.†

4. Thomas Heath[2] (Thomas[1]) of Northumberland County, married Winifred, daughter of Mr. Robert Jones,[2] an early Sheriff and Justice of Northumberland who was the son of Mr. Robert Jones[1] and Martha, his wife. Robert Jones[2] married Sarah, daughter of Mr. Christopher Garlington who mentions her in his will made December 21, 1709. The will of Thomas Heath dated June 6, 1727 was proved July 1729 and he names his wife Winifred and children William, John, Betty and Mary. Mrs. Winifred (Jones) Heath married *secondly,* after 1735, George Oldham. She probably died in 1754 as on May 13 of that year

† On April 8, 1745, there was an indented award between Henry Miller William Tebbs, George Conway and John Sorrell concerning the estate of Samuel Heath. See also WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY.

Roger Winter and John Heath petitioned for their parts of estate in the hands of George Oldham.

Thomas and Winifred (Jones) Heath had issue:

13. Mary Heath[3] married William Miller.

14. William Heath[3] was accorded his estate in 1739. He married Elinor ———— and in December 1757 they made a deed to John Heath.

15. *John Heath.*[3]

16. Betty Heath[3] married Roger Winter.

5. Peter Heath[2] (Thomas[1]) married Hannah, daughter of Edward Smith and had issue:

17. George Heath.[3] On July 13, 1748 George Heath orphan of Peter Heath, 14 years old was bound to Thomas Bearcroft until he was 21 years old.

6. Elizabeth Heath[2] (Thomas[1]) married *first,* Thomas Brewer; *second,* Thomas Ball; and *third,* John Burne. John Burne's will was probated February 18, 1719, and mentions sons James, John, and Thomas, daughter Margaret and daughter-in-law (step-daughter) Elizabeth. Mrs. Elizabeth Burne's will was probated February 20, 1723 by Samuel Heath, and names her daughter Elizabeth Bashford (wife of John Bashford), daughter Margaret and sons John and Thomas; executors, John Steptoe and Samuel Heath.

Elizabeth Heath[2] had issue by her *first* husband, Thomas Brewer, a daughter:

18. Elizabeth[3] who married John Bashford son of Symon and Grace Bashford.* John Bashford's will was

* March 17, 1726, Capt. George Ball and Samuel Heath presented the affidavits of Mrs. Dameron, Thomas Dameron, Mrs. Dorothy Mahen, and Samuel Mahen. These affidavits were for the purpose of establishing the fact that John Bashford was the son of Symon Bashford and his wife Grace, as he had fallen heir to an estate in England. This marriage had been celebrated at the home of Mr. George Dameron, according to the testimony of Thomas Dameron, son to George, and Mrs. Dorothy Mahen, aunt to Thomas Dameron.

probated May 1735, by Thomas Edwards, Gent., but the will book in which it was recorded is missing.†

Elizabeth (Heath[2]) Brewer had issue by her *third* husband John Burne:

19. James[3] Burne; 20. John[3] Burne, who died unmarried; 21 Thomas[3] Burne who married Grace, daughter of Captain George and Grace (Haynie) Ball. The will of Thomas Burne was proved November 17, 1740 and he names wife Grace, son John and cousins (nephews, sons of his sister Margaret) Samuel, John, Morris and William Garlington; and cousins (nieces, daughters of his half sister, Elizabeth (nee Brewer) Bashford) Elizabeth and Judith Bashford and brother in law George Ball Junr.; 22. Margaret[3] Burne married Samuel Garlington. May 20, 1724, Mr. Samuel Heath, executor of Elizabeth Burne to deliver to Samuel Garlington and Mary (evidently Margaret) his wife, one of the daughters of John and Elizabeth Burne, deceased, the said Mary's filial part of her deceased parents estate. Samuel and Margaret (Heath) Garlington had issue (according to the will of Thomas Burne, proved in 1740): (a) Samuel Garlington; (b) John Garlington; (c) Morris Garlington; (d) William Garlington.

15. John Heath[3] (Thomas,[2] Thomas[1]). August 13, 1753, John Heath and Joseph Pope were sworn lieutenants of the Troop and Foot; July 8, 1754, John Heath was captain of Foot in Wicomico Parish; February 12, 1759, he was a vestryman in Wicomico Parish; October 14, 1776, John Heath, Gentleman, was appointed captain of the Minute Company whereof William Lee was formerly captain and at the time of his death, in 1783, he

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† John and Elizabeth (Brewer) Bashford had issue: (1) Elizabeth Bashford; (2) Judith Bashford, according to the will of Thomas Burne, proved Nov. 17, 1740.

was a Justice of the Peace. Captain Heath engaged in merchandizing in Northumberland County on an extensive scale.*

Captain John Heath[3] married *first,* his cousin, Mary Waddy, daughter of Thomas Waddy; *secondly,* Judith ————; *third,* Chloe ————.

On January 12, 1756, John Heath to be possessed with his wife's personal estate in the hands of James Mott who intermarried with Jane Waddy, executor of Benjamin Waddy. Benjamin Waddy was the son and one of the executors of Thomas Waddy, a legatee of Bartholomew Schreever.[2] November 8, 1762 John Heath and Mary his wife made a deed to Travers Downman. July 9, 1775, there was a deed made by Joseph Ball and John Heath and Judith, his wife to Henry Hurst.

The will of Captain John Heath, dated September, 1782, was probated December 8, 1783, and in it he mentions his wife Chloe,

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* There was some relationship between Capt. Heath and George Dameron that the writer of these notes has not been able to determine. The mother of George Dameron was the widow of Capt. Heath's uncle (4) William Heath who died about 1719.

It will be remembered that Ann, relict of William Heath, was granted administration on her husband's estate in 1719. She married about 1729 Thomas Dameron and their son, George Dameron, was sued by John Heath on July 10, 1764. For several years after George Dameron seems to have been the financial backer of John Heath.

In 1768, March 14, Thomas Newton and Son brought suit against John Heath, George Dameron admitted special bail.

1769, May 8, John Bland Mcht. vs. John Heath, George Dameron special bail.

1773, June 14, George Dameron and John Heath on a bond for Richard Pope. (Richard Pope was step brother to George Dameron.)

1774, March 14, Thomas Gaskins and Kendall Lee vs. George Dameron, John Lawson, Thomas Waddy and John Heath.

1778, July 13, Nicholas Floods, executors vs. John Heath, George Dameron, Thomas Waddy and John Hughlett.

1770, Aug. 13, James Gregorie vs. John Heath and Travers Downman. George Dameron special bail for defendants.

1771, June 10. Bacon and Co. vs. John Heath and Travers Downman. George Dameron special bail for sd. Heath.

The writer has not been able to determine the relationship that evidently existed between John Heath and George Dameron.

daughter Ann Heath, and sons John and Robert (Jones) Heath and his cousin Winifred Heath.

The children of Captain John Heath[3] were:

23. Ann Heath[4] who married William Kirk. February 14, 1785, it is recorded that William Kirk who intermarried with Ann, daughter of John Heath, Gent., decd., was to be possessed with his wife's estate in the hands of John Heath and Robert Jones Heath. 24. John Heath[4] was appointed Commonwealth's Attorney for Northumberland December 10, 1781. There are several deeds which show that John Heath was afterwards a resident of Richmond City, Virginia.* He was member of the Executive Council of Virginia, and married Sarah Ewell (see Hayden, *Virginia Genealogies,* p. 340)† 25. Robert Jones Heath[4] lived in Wicomicoa Parish, Lancaster County, and on April 11, 1791, he gave a deed to David Ball, Junior, of Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County, for a hundred acres of land called Garlingtons Tract.

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* These next items have some historical interest, as they relate to the laying out of the county seat town of Heathsville

1796, Feb. 8. Deed from Thomas Downing, Thomas Dameron Downing and Betsy, his wife to John Heath.

1798, Nov. 24. This Indenture between Thomas Gaskins, Walter Jones, John Heath, Catesby Jones, John Cralle, Thomas Winter Hughlett and Thomas Dameron Downing, trustees of the town of Heathsville.

On Nov. 19, 1803. John Heath describing himself as "of Richmond City at present of Northumberland County," deed of trust to John Miller, Jr., of ———— County, on seven hundred acres of land called Springfield, together with storehouses etc. now in possession of Capt. James De Shields.

1804, April 3. John Heath of Richmond City deed to Thomas Dameron Downing for 649 acres of land in Northumberland County, called Springfield.

†John Heath was the first president of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, organized at William and Mary College, December 5, 1776. For sketch of him see *Phi Beta Kappa Key,* Vol. II, Nos. 7 and 8.

HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA: BEGINNINGS OF ITS FAMILIES.

Part I.

By WILLIAM CLAYTON TORRENCE.

Journeying along the wonderful river which traverses Henrico's territory one is time and again surprised by the romantic aspect of water and lowland and hill and through a deeply stirred imagination a mighty appeal is made to the heart of the traveller and he cannot do otherwise than wonder about the people who in the very beginning of things English on the American continent founded homes in this valley and through succeeding generations sent forth men and women into the great free country that was to be.

To him who has any sense of the "value of experience" the journey to the past becomes inevitable. "To-day" and the "man of to-day" are the children of yesterday, developments from certain seed sown in the past. It is but human to look into the past both in an effort to trace men's actions in their corporate capacities and to "place" one's individual forebears among the events of life. Behind the deeds stand the men and women; behind us stand our forebears.

A journey over the course of Henrico's history reminds one forcibly of this great river. Touched by the Human Spirit which bids one make the journey of history he discovers, as the sources are explored in long forgotten volumes, records of events in the lives of individuals and in the actions of men in their "corporate capacities" which equal in romance any aspect of Henrico's natural scenery. Event follows event-human-bright sometimes and humorous, sometimes sombre, sometimes tragic: lights and shadows playing on history's page just as lights and shadows play on the great Powhatan and the lowlands and hills of her valley.

The old county court record sources are not "the barren and dry land," which they have seemed to so many; they are veritably sparkling sources to him who has any imagination. The glad tidings of Love's consummation in marriage are there and, supplemented by Parish Registers, one may discover the flowering of Love's year in the infants brought to the Christian font. The record of a will or the administration on an estate tells of a death, an event fraught with most romantic consequences even to the most prosaic mind. Wills and inventories and estate accounts tell of "the everyday things" of man's life and recount his successes from the economic point of view frequently by their contents disclosing something of the spirit and temper of the person. Servants (if a man were possessed of any), the clothes wherewithal he clothed himself, the tools with which he worked, the necessities, the comforts and luxuries (if any there were, which was seldom) are listed in these documents. Deed books reveal the land transactions in a country whose basis of wealth was tillage of the soil. Last, but by no means least, come the Court Order Books, which reveal so much of the life of the people. Prominence and substantial standing in the community may be inferred from the offices of trust (magistrate, sheriff, vestryman, militia officer, coroner), held by various members of a family. The general participation in the conduct of ordinary affairs, the methodical way in which each male member of the community was called upon to discharge the obligations of his political station (jury service, road overseer, constable, etc.); the gravity with which the laws were enforced and the majesty with which the officers commissioned to enforce them were invested are shown by these records.

Without respect to "position" the early inhabitant of the colony was brought before the court if he or she dared by unseemly conduct to set at nought the law of the land. There are recorded in these old Order Books events which savor of scandal at which any one would blush and there are also revelations of characteristics in individuals which any one would be proud to discover in his ancestors. And so the story runs. Human beings, with all the possible frailties and all the possible virtues of human beings

were met together in the early settlements: theirs was the same human nature so familiar to the student of social conditions to-day.

"Economic necessity" is no doubt the principal factor in colonization and the development of resources, but one who has studied conditions cannot withhold a strong dissent from the colorless story told from the "materialistic" point of view which, while giving prominence to certain human factors, casts aside as "sentimentalism" other as definitely human factors, and would try and eliminate from history the play of the Spirit. There are many sides to human nature and it so happens that human nature is the basis of Life of whose record history is the interpretation. No race of men or individuals has ever been so hard pressed or greedy of gain that he does not stop to love, to laugh, to play, to think, to mourn. Joy, planning, temper and temptation and yielding, contention and strife are part of life; so, too, is sacrifice, for both persons and causes, and no stringency of "economic necessity" (technically speaking) can eliminate them and no tool of the "materialstic" theory erase them from the record. These things were as much the verities of life to the early colonist and his immediate successors as the hard, cold pounds and pence, or the fragrant weed, in which the material accumulations of his life's work were appraised by law. The records tell the whole story to him who approaches them with the Human Spirit for guide.

"All sorts and conditions of men" were met together in the colony. The so-called well-to-do and the poor man shared alike the roughness, the uncouthness, the genuine hardness and inconvenience which are the very essence of the life of "founders." Akin in a spirit of venturesomeness, regardless of the basic motives of their ventures—whether for gain or the sheer purpose of making a living—whether philanthropic or for purposes scientific, political or religious—the lot was common to all. Independent man and laborer, the hirer and the hireling, both were new to the venture, sharing the spirit of endurance; those with "the plus" of intelligence finally reaping success. The independent man established himself in trade and in more or less extensive planting and in the political life of the colony. His industrial and

political activities proving lucrative he founded a family and perpetuated not only name but position. The hireling—the man who came as a "servant"—worked out the time of his indentures, and if not rehiring himself, began life on an independent basis (meager as that might be), farming, engaging in a trade or the practice of a profession: that for which he was best fitted. Industry and cleverness had their reward. Early Virginia was veritably an "open field of opportunity" as is so well illustrated by the fact that not infrequently all of the orders of society are found represented in the different branches of a family—the more intelligent ones having taken advantage of opportunities. Many a man who came into the colony as an indentured servant (not merely as an apprentice, but as an actual laborer for the purpose of making a living) rose to substantial position and paved the way even to wealth and consequent social position for his descendants. These people spread over the face of the country as the colony grew and in the new settlements some of them took high rank and are found among the "local gentry" administering the offices of magistrate, vestryman, sheriff, commanding the militia and sometimes even representing the county in the assembly. The same is true of many of those, who, while coming into the colony free of indentures yet were people of but small means. The indenture was not, as so many think, a barrier to success. That success crowned the efforts of many people of these classes —the independent and the hireling or the man of small means— should not be considered as indicative that there were no failures. Failures there were and among all classes.

Any attempted estimate of the life of a community (particularly a pioneer one) which did not tell the facts of woman's existence there would be manifestly imperfect. There never has been, nor can there ever be, under any natural conditions, what might be termed a "man's world," though one might infer from the exclusive method of treating economic and political conditions and calling the product "history" that some people so thought.

Good, bad and indifferent women are found everywhere, and have apparently always existed, just as men of the same types have lived side by side. A careful study of the remaining records shows a great deal about the life of woman in the colony and

state, and a great deal more that is equally true, though not a matter of record, may be inferred from a knowledge of actual conditions. Of course the names of women of affairs found their way into the records and the names of women, who were notoriously bad were emblazoned on court minutes. The names of women who made sacrifices (which from the conditions of life in a given community appeared dramatic) are handed down by tradition and the names of the women who held out against manifestly unjust laws certainly found their way into the courts. The common scold, the intemperate, the immoral, the thieving were brought before the magistrate and even the unhappy wretch who became the mother of an illegitimate child (though even her past record and her future one were free from blemish, and though she may have been the victim of rank social conditions) very certainly felt the clutches of the law and the consequent preservation of an unsavory name. But the passages are few and far between which specify the details of the life of the general run of womankind or which refer to her as the powerful factor which she was in the new and growing community. Of her we are only told that she was the daughter or sister or wife or mother of some man and with this casual, legally necessary, mention of her name she passes from view.

The real significance of such portions in life are seldom thought out and as seldom mentioned. There has been too great a tendency to lose sight of the romance and glory of the common offices of life. These women are only seen en masse in the background of the picture of pioneer life where the light from man's successes begins to glow and in whose reflection they appear happy creatures in comfort and domestic joy. As man's creatures they appear: individual selves almost eliminated. The fourfold sacrifice of the lot of her who was the pioneer's wife and daughter and sister and the mother of future generations is forbidden to illuminate the picture, because, forsooth, her spiritual qualities were not matters of record. Spiritually and physically sensitive, just as the general run of womankind has ever been, the hardness of both small and great duties fell with full force upon the pioneer woman. The actual labor of her hands and of her brain, the terribleness of her anxiety—

that of the watcher by the hearthstone—her hopefulness and trust, the tiredness of her body, her wonderful "staying" and recuperative powers (for all of which, the mere fact that she was everpresent in the community, is sufficient warrant for belief) have never been, and I doubt not, ever can be appraised at their actual value to the enterprise of colonization and nation building.

Truly and greatly—in a large majority of cases—woman in pioneer days was supremely Woman, regardless of social status. Brocades and homespuns were but superficial coverings for hearts which beat in accord where many women were gathered together, at least ninety per cent. of whom were bound together in the common bonds of wifehood and motherhood. Forever beyond the reach of man's imagination lies the difficulty of the small and great duties of woman's life. The "serving of tables," the care of the household, the innumerable so-called little things, and then the parts of cheerfulness and encouragement which she must play amidst all her perplexities and the tremendous duty of bearing and mothering children. All of these things she did. And as a memorial to her—the wife and the fore mother (whose life, however humble, transcends the power of record and interpretation) every one who can trace their ancestry back to the early days of this country should try and catch the echo through the years of the undertone of her faith in God for guidance and protection without which most certainly early woman could not have done the things which she did.

Together, side by side, each performing their respective duties, the men and women developed the country which we know. Henrico was not an exception for life within the boundaries of its territory mirrored as it were—the life in the colony at large and from this ancient community have gone forth to other parts of Virginia and to the other states such a host that it seems well to remind those who shall seek a knowledge of their own people among the data which are presented in these articles of the true nature of the lives of their ancestors.

The very month of May 1607 in which the settlement was made at Jamestown brought Newport, Percy, Archer, Smith, Brooks and Wotton and a company of mariners and sailors on a

voyage of exploration up the Powhatan (afterwards the James) River, reaching the falls in the very heart of Henrico, where the city of Richmond now stands, on the 23rd day of the month.[1] These "upper parts" of the country seemed a goodly place for settlement and Captain Francis West was in 1609 ordered to make one in the vicinity of the falls; this he did, however, shortly afterwards abandoning the venture. [2] Two years later, in 1611, Henricus, a town some fourteen miles below the falls, was established where it was proposed in 1619, to build the first college in the new world "primarily designed for the education of Indian youth in the Christian faith; but . . . also to furnish the planters' children with an opportunity to obtain advanced tuition."[3] In 1611 also "Coxendale" (just across the river from Henricus) appears on the map and in 1613 "Bermuda Hundreds" and "Rochdale Hundred." "Sheffield's Plantation" was settled in 1619, and in the same year a settlement was made at Falling Creek for the purpose of establishing the first iron works in America.[4]

Among the earliest known worthies who resided in the territory now so familiarly known as Henrico County were the mighty Powhatan, chief of the Red-Men, and his daughter Pocahontas, the gentle Indian maiden, who by her marriage to John Rolfe, became the foremother of so many people whose names are household words even in the Henrico of to-day. The very efficient, though stern, Sir Thomas Dale, was the guiding spirit of the Henricus settlement of 1611 and Alexander Whitaker, "Apostle to the Indians," was preacher to the colony there in 1612 and later. In after years Henrico numbered among its inhabitants such men as Nathaniel Bacon, the younger, leader of the people in

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[1] Traylor, *Some Notes on the First Recorded Visit of White Men to the Site of the Present City of Richmond, Virginia. Richmond: Privately Printed,* 1899, p. 6.

[2] Tyler, *The Cradle of the Republic,* p. 219.

[3] Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* Vol. I, p. 362.

[4] Henricus was on the north side of James River, while the other settlements mentioned were on the south side. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic,* pp. 215, 216, 217, 220 and map.

their just uprising against the government, James Blair, parson and educator, commissary to the Bishop of London, prime mover for the establishment of William and Mary College and its first president who on first coming to Virginia in 1685 "was assigned to the parish of Varina in Henrico, where it had been intended to build the university and college of 1618" and where "the inspirations of his surroundings probably had much to do with his subsequent actions."[1] William Stith, parson, scholar and historian, president of William and Mary College 1752-1755, was also at one time a minister in Henrico.

In studying the history of the people of a community the first essential is to discover their names. Local records are sadly missing in Henrico and as a matter of fact there were none kept in the colony until about the year 1632. Before that date such matters as concern us here were recorded in the general records of the colony or sent to England. The former have disappeared and the latter may only be investigated at great expense and therefore are as well as lost to most of us. We are fortunate, however, in having had preserved lists of "the Livinge" and "the Dead" in Virginia in February 1623 (1624) and from these we will take the names of those persons whom it is possible to identify as residing in the territory which in 1634 became Henrico County. This official list is the earliest one made which is now known to be in existence.

"List of the Livinge & Dead in Virginia Feb. 16, 1623."[2]

A List of the Livinge.
At the Colledg Land.[3]

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[1] Tyler, *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capitol,* p. 114.

[2] Senate Document (Extra) Colonial Records of Virginia. Richmond, Va.: R. F. Walker, Superintendent Public Printing, 1874, pp. 37-38; and Hotten, "Emigrants," pp. 169-196.

[3] The "Colledg Land" was the designation for the acreage obtained in 1619 for the benefit of the proposed University at Henrico. "On the northerly side of James River, from the falls down to Henrico (about 14 miles below the present city of Richmond) . . . are the public lands reserved and laid out, whereof ten thousand are for the University lands, three thousand are for the company's lands, with other lands belonging to the Colledge" (Date: 1625 or '6). *Senate Doc. Colonial Records of Virginia* . . . p. 37.

"Att ye Colledg Land. Thomas Marlett, Christopher Branch, Francis Boot, William Browing (Browning), Walter Coop (Cooper), William Welder, Leonard More, Daniel Shurley, Peeter Jorden, Nicholas Perse, William Dalbie, Esaias Rawton, Theoder Moises,[1] Robert Champer, Thomas Jones, David Williams, William Walker, Edward Hobson, Thomas Hobson, John Day, William Cooksey, Robert Farnell, Nicholas Chapman, Mathew Edlow,[2] William Price, Gabriel Holland, John Wattson, Ebedmelech Gastrell, Thomas Osborne.

Att ye Neck of Land.[3] Luke Boys, Mrs. Boys, Robert Halam, Joseph Royall, John Dod's, Elizabeth Perkinson, William Vincent, Mrs. Vincent, Allexander Bradway, his wife Bradway, John Price, his wife Price, Robert Turner, Nathaniel Reeue (Reeve), Seriant William Sharp, Mrs. Sharp, Richard Rawse, Thomas Sheppy, William Clements, Thomas Harris, his wife Harris, Ann Woodley, Margaret Berman, Thomas Farmer, Hugh Hilton, Richard Taylor, ux Taylor, Josua Chard, Christopher Browne, Thomas Oage, ux Oage, infans Oage, Henry Coltman, Hugh Price, ux Price, infans Price, Mrs. Coltman, Robert Greene, ux Greene, infans Greene [Greeneleafe?].

From *"A List of the Names of the Dead in Virginia since April Last* [April 1623] Feby 16th 1623 [1624]"[4] we have these additional names of early residents of Henrico:

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[1] A Theodor Moyses had a patent for 2,000 acres in James City County (due for the transportation 40 persons into the colony) 23 May 1637 *Virginia Magazine,* VI, p. 297.

[2] Matthew Edlow (Edlowe, Edloe) was member House of Burgesses for College Plantation 1618. His widow Alice (who married *secondly* Luke Boyse) had patent Nov. 1636 for land between Harrow Attacks and the falls for her personal adventure and transportation of 14 persons. Matthews Edlowe, Junior (son of Matthew) settled in James City Co. and has numerous descendants (*William and Mary,* XV, p. 282, and *Virginia Magazine,* V, p. 96).

[3] This place, now known as Jones' Neck, was a part of Dale's settlement in 1613. It was first called Rochdale Hundred and afterwards 'Neck of Land in Charles City,' to distinguish it from 'Neck of Land in James City.'" (Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic,* p. 216.)

[4] *Colonial Records of Virginia,* p. 55.

"*Colledge*: William Lambert,

John Wood William More	Killed	Thomas Naylor James Howell	Killed

At the Neck of Land:

Moses Conyers	Thomas Fernley, killed.
George Grimes	Edward ————.
William Clements."	

From the official list of those who were killed in the celebrated Indian massacre of the 22 March 1622 (1623) we are able to add still other names to our list of the residents of this section at this early date.

"Here following is set downe a true list of the names of all those that were massacred by the treachery of the Sauages in Virginia, the 22nd of March last.[1] . . .

At Captaine Berckley's Plantation, seated at Falling Creeke, some 66 miles from James Citie, in Virginia.

John Berkley, Esquire, Thomas Brasington, John Sawyer, Roger Dauid, Francis Gowsh, Bartholmew Peram, John Dowler, Laurence Dowler, Giles Peram, Lewis Williams, Richard Bascough, Thomas Holland, John Hunt, Robert Horner Mason, Philip Barnes, William Swandel, Robert Williams, his wife and childe, Giles Bradshaw, his wife and childe, John Howlet and his sonne, Thomas Wood and Collins his man, Joseph Fitch apothecary to Doctor Pots.

At Master Thomas Sheffield Plantation, some three miles from Falling Creeke.

Master Th: Sheffield (the son of William Sheffield) and Rachel his wife, John Reeue, William Tyler, a boy, Samuel Reeue, John Ellen, Robert Tyler, a boy, Mathew ————, Judeth Howard, Thomas Poole, Methusalem ————, Thomas Taylor, William Tyler.

At Henrico lland about two miles from Sheffield's Plantation ———— Atkins, ———— Weston, Philip Shatford, William Perigo, Owen Jones, one of Captain Berkley's people.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Slaine of the Colledge People, about two miles from Henrico Citie.

Samuel Stringer, George Soldan, William Baffet, John Perry, Edward Ember, Jarrat Moore, Thomas Xerles, Thomas Freeman, John Allen, Thomas Cooke, John Clements, James Faulkener, Christopher Henley, William Jordan, Robert Dauis, Thomas Hobson, William Bailey.[1]

In addition to the "List" from which the above names are quoted there have alse been preserved "*The Musters of the Inhabitants of Virginia* 1624-5"[1] which throw a considerable amount

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[1] In 1634 Henrico was erected into a county or "shire." The present day counties of Henrico, Goochland, Chesterfield, Cumberland, Buckingham, Nelson, Fluvanna, Albemarle, Amherst and Campbell were parts of the "original" Henrico. The original territory of Henrico lay on both sides of the James River. Turkey Island Creek and Appomattox River formed the eastern boundary of the county, Chickahominy River the northern, Appomattox River the Southern, while westward the territory was almost boundless. Reductions in territory occurred, first, in 1727 when 'the upper part' of Henrico on both sides of the river was erected into Goochland, and secondly, in 1748 when Chesterfield county was erected from the remaining part of Henrico's territory on the south side of the James. The other counties mentioned above were sub-divisions of Goochland.

The parishes of Henrico (in her original formation) were Henrico, Varina, Bristol and Dale. Henrico Parish dates from 1611, Varina (date unknown) ; Bristol from 1643 and Dale from 1735. Henrico was the older by many years and the "parent" of the others. In 1642-3, for the convenience of the settlers along Appomattox River, Bristol Parish was created by act of Assembly and its original boundaries were from Cawson's field within the mouth of Appomattox River, on the east, and Powell's Creek (Patents to Dorothy Clarke in Henrico [now Chesterfield] 16 July, 1639, and Thomas Jones, in the same county, January, 1663-4, practically locate Powell's Creek), on the west and so extending up the Appomattox to the falls (now the site of Petersburg). Bristol Parish was therefore partly in Charles City County (now Prince George and Dinwiddie) and partly in Henrico (now Chesterfield). Dale Parish was created by act of Assembly August, 1734 (to assume legal status from 31 May, 1735), by merging that part of Bristol Parish which lay north of the Appomattox River with that portion of Henrico Parish which lay south of James River.

[2] Hotten's, *"Emigrants,"* p. 201 *et seq.*

of light on these early settlers in Henrico by giving the names of the ships in which they came to the colony and in many instances the year in which they arrived.

"The Muster of the Inhabitants of the Colledge: Land in Virginia taken the 23th of Januery 1624 (1625)" shows that Lieutenant Thomas Osborne arrived in the Bona Nova, November 1619; his servants Daniel Sherley (aged 30 yeres came in the Bona Nova 1619), Peter Jorden (aged 22 in the London Marchannt 1620) and Richard Davis (aged 16 in the Jonathan 1620). Robert Lapworth came in the Abigaile; John Watson in the William & Thomas; Edward Hobson in the Bona Nova 1619; Christopher Branch came in the London Marchannt, Mary, his wife in the same shipp, Thomas his sonne was aged 9 months; William Browninge came in the Bona Nova ——; William Weldon came in the Bona Nova 1619; Mathew Edlow came in the Neptune in 1618; Francis Wilton came in the Jonathan; Ezekiak Raughton came in the Bona Nova and Margarett his wife in the Warwick; William Price came in the Starr; Robert Campion in the Bona Nova; Leonard Moore in the Bona Nova; Thomas Baugh in the Supply; Thomas Parker in the Neptune and Theoder Moyses came in the London Marchannt, William Price came in the Starr.[1]

"The Muster of the Inhabitant's of the Neck of Land in the Corporation of Charles Citie in Virginia taken the 24th January 1624 (1625)" shows that

Luke Boyse aged 44 arrived in the Edwine in May 1619 and

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[1] The names of Thomas Marlett, Francis Boot, Walter Coop (Cooper), Nicholas Perse, William Dalbie, Thomas Jones, David Williams, William Walker, Tomas Hobson, John Day, William Cooksey, Robert Parnell, Nicholas Chapman, Gabriel Holland, and Ebedmelech Gastrel which appear in the "List . . . of the Living" do not appear in the "Musters," while the names of Robert Lapworth, Thomas Baugh and Thomas Parker which appear in the "Musters" do not appear in the former list. Several variations in the spelling of names in the two lists will also be noticed, thus Shurley in the "List . . . of the Living" becomes Sherley in the "Musters," Esaias Rawton in the former becomes Ezekiah Raughton in the latter. Welder becomes Weldon, Champer becomes Campion and Wattson becomes Watson.

that Alice his wife, arrived in the Bona Nova in April 1622,[1] and Boyse's servants Robert Hollam, aged 23 came in the Bonaventure, August 1620[2] and Joseph Royall, aged 22 in the Charitie, July 1622.

Josuah Chard, aged 36 came in the Seaventure, May 1607, and Ann, his wife, aged 33, in the Bonny Bess 1623; John Dod aged 36 came in the Susan Constant Aprill 1607 and Jane his wife aged 40; William Vincene, aged 39, in the Mary & James and Joane, his wife aged 42; Thomas Harris, aged 38, came in the Prosperous in May ——, Adria, his wife, aged 23, in the Marmaduke in November 1621, and Ann Woodlase, their kinswoman, aged 7. Harris' servant Elizabeth ———— aged 15 years in the Margaret & John 1620. John Price, aged 40, came in the Starr in May —— and Ann, his wife, aged 21, in the Francis Bonaventure, August 1620, and Mary, a child, aged 3 months; Hugh Hilton, aged 36 came in the Edwine, May 1619; Richard Taylor, aged 50, in the Mary Margaret in September 1608 and Dorothy,

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[1] Hannah Boyse, daughter and heir of Luke Boyse, late of Henrico, decd., patented in Nov., 1635, 300 acres in Henrico adjoining land of *her mother* Alice Edlowe; due 50 acres for her personal adventure and 50 acres for the personal adventure of her father, and 200 acres for transportation of servants, viz.: Thomas Lewis, *Robert Hollum, Joseph Royall,* Edward Holland and Oliver Allen. (*Virginia Magazine,* V, p. 97.)

[2] Robert *Hollam,* patented 1,000 acres in Henrico Co., adjoining Edward Osborne and opposite to the fallen [Falling] Creek (due for transportation of 20 persons), 2 June, 1636. Ann *Hallam* on 6 May, 1638, patented 1,000 acres in Henrico adjoining Richard Cocke and towards Bremo and towards Turkey Island Creek. It appears from records in Henrico, April, 1680, June, 1691, and August, 1705 (dates of records of several deeds), that certains lands were patented by *the relict of Mr. Robert Hallam* and by her granted to the daughters and heirs of said Hallam, viz.: Sarah wife of John Sturdivant of Charles City Co., and her two sisters. It also appears that the said Sarah Hallam married *first* Samuel Woodward, of Charles City Co. (by whom she had Samuel Woodward of Boston, Mass., in 1705) and *secondly,* John Sturdivant of Charles City Co. Ann (another daughter of *Mr. Robert Hallam*) married John Gundey and had a son John Gundey of Gloucester Co., Virginia, in 1691. (*Virginia Magazine,* V. p. 212.) There was a receipt given by one Thomas Hallam 14 April, 1656, and recorded in the General Court. (*Giles Carter of Virginia, Genealogical Memoir,* p. 38.)

his wife, aged 21, in the London Marchannt in May 1620 and Mary, their child, aged 3 months; Taylor's servant, Christopher Browne, aged 18, came in the dutie in May 1620; Thomas Oage, aged 40, came in the Starr in May ——; and Ann, his wife, in the Neptune in August 1618, and Edwin, their son, aged 2 years; Robert Greenleafe, aged 43, came in the Tryall August 1610, Susan, his wife, aged 23, in the Jonathan in May 1620 Thomas, their son, aged 3 years, and Ann, their daughter, aged 22 weeks.[1] Henry Coltman, aged 30, came in the Noah, August 1610; and Ann, his wife, aged 26, in the London Marchannt, May 1620. Hugh Price, aged 35, came in the William & John, January 1618, Judith, his wife, aged 24, in the Marygold, May 1619, and John, his son, aged 2 years. Thomas Farmer, aged 30, came in the Tryall in 1616 Thomas Sheppy, aged 22, came in the Supply in January 1620. Allexander Bradway, aged 31, came in the Supply, January 1620, Sisley, his wife, aged 28, in the Jonathan, May 1620 and Adria, their daughter, aged 9 months. William Sharp, aged 40, came in the Starr in May ——, Elizabeth, his wife, aged 25, in the Bonaventure, August 1620, Isaac, his son, aged

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[1] Thomas Warren patented Nov., 1635, 300 acres in Charles City County, of which 50 acres were in right of *his wife Susan Greeneleafe,* relict of *Robert Greeneleafe,* for her own personal adventure, and 100 acres in right of her former husband, the said Robert Greenleafe, as an ancient planter, and 150 acres for transportation of ——— ——— and John Fouke, (2 servants) and for the personal adventure of the said Thomas Warren. In July, 1637, Thomas Markham patented 300 acres in Henrico Co. on Four Mile Creek, adjoining Bayly's land and Curls due: 100 acres in right of *his wife Susan the relict of Robert Greenleafe,* to whom (Greeneleafe) it was due as an an ancient planter in the time of Sir Thomas Dale, and 50 acres for her own personal adventure and 50 acres for the personal adventure of the said Thomas Markham and 100 acres for transportation of 2 persons: John Foker and Richard Hall [evidently the same persons in Warren's patent above] (*Virginia Magazine,* IV, p. 201 and VII, p. 69). It has not developed what became of Greenleafe's children. For the interesting historical aspect developed by the repeated granting of lands, as in above patents see Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.*

2 years, and Samuel, his son, aged 2 months. Sharp's servant, Richard Vause, aged 20, came in the Jonathan, May 1620.[1]

The lists presented above contain 145 names of residents of Henrico and it is not improbable that there are ommissions. Just exactly what became of these people is not known; with few exceptions (which I shall presently note) representatives of these names had disappeared from Henrico County when the list of heads of families (the next which is found of record) was made fifty-four years later, in 1679. During the intervening time there were many immigrations and while the names in the lists of 1624 are recognized by only a few, the majority of those in the list of 1679 are to-day household words in this section of Virginia and many of them are well known beyond the limits of the state.

Let us now turn to the list of *Heads of Families in Henrico* in 1679.

This list of heads of families in Henrico, or rather "*An account of ye several fortye Tythables*" as it was officially designated, was made in accordance with a provision of an act of the Assembly which convened 25 April 1679: "*An act for the defence of the country against the incursions of the Indian Enemy.*"[2]

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[1] The names of Elizabeth Perkinson, Robert Turner, Nathaniel Reeue, William Clements and Margaret Berman which appear in the "*List . . . of the Living*" do not appear in the "*Musters.*" All of the names which appear in the "*Musters*" (with the exception of Mrs. Ann Chard, Elizabeth ——— the servant of Thomas Harris, and several of the children) appear in the "*List . . . of the Living.*" Several variations in the spelling of names in the two lists will be noticed thus Boys in the "*List . . . of the Living*" becomes Boyse in the "*Musters,*" Halam in the former becomes Hollam in the latter, Vincent becomes Vincene, Rawse becomes Vause, Sheppy becomes Sheppey, Woodley becomes Woodlase, and it is not improbable that Greene in the "*List of the Living*" is the Greenleafe of the "*Musters.*"

[2] Hening, *Statutes at Large of Virginia,* Vol. II, p. 433.

Att a Court holden att Varina for the County of Henrico the second day of June Anno Dom 1679 . . .

An account of ye several fortye Tythables ordered by this Wor'll Court to fitt out men horse armes &c. according to act, viz:

In Bermuda Hundred:

Mr Martin Elam 6
Thomas Shippey 3
Edwd Stratton, Junr, 3
Samll Knibb 2
Mr Fra Epes 9
Jos Royall 3
Att Mrs Isham's 6
George Browninge 5
Mr Kennon 3
John Worsham 4

44

Mr. Epes is ordered to give notice to these.

Turkey Island

Mr. Richd Cocke 5
Captn Wm Randolph 5
Giles Carter 6
John Aust 2
Thomas Cocke 8
John Gunter 2
William Humphreys 2
Anthony Tall 1
John Lewis 3
Henry Watkins 3
Robert Evans 3
Petr Harris 1
Thomas East 1

44

Captn Randolph is ordered to give notice to these.

Curls

Abrah Childers 2
Richd Morish 6
John Howard 2
Wm Theobald 1
Robert Woodson 5
John Woodson Sr 3
John Woodson Jr 2
Mr John Pleasants 13
Mr John Ball 1
Edwd Goode 1
Edwd Lester 1
Henry Brazeel 1
John Greenhaugh 1
Ben Hatcher 1
Wm Hews 1
Lewis Watkins 1
Tho Holmes 1
Sally Indian 1

44

Mr Ben Hatcher is ordered to give notice to these.

Tho Newcomb 1
Peter Ashbrook 3
Mr Wm Baugh 5
Tho Burton 1
Richd Lygon 1
Abrah Womecke 2
Edwd Bowman 3
Att Mrs Skermes 3
Mr Henry Lounds 3
Mr Wm Clerke 3

Mr Tho Poulden 4
Mr Gilbert Elam Sr 5
Mr Henry Gee 2
John Bowman 2
Tim Allen 1
Mr Gilbert Platt 5

44

Mr. Richd Lygon is ordered to give notice to these.

Mr Peter Field 7
Mr Charles Fetherstone 3
Jno Baugh 3
Major Chamberlaine 4
Richd Holmes 1
James Gates 1
Tho Puckett 2
Jno Puckett 1
Wm Beven 3
Tho Wells 2
Mrs Morris 3
Tho Lockett 1
Evan Owen 1
George Freeman 1
Mrs Lygon 2
Major Wm Lygon 3
Robert Mann 1
Mr Hancocke 1
James Eakin 2
Wm Puckett 2

44

Mr Peter Field is ordered to give notice to these.

John Ellis 1
George Archer 2
Wm Harris 2
Tho Webster 1
Tho Gregory 1
Mrs Chandler 5
John Willson Sen 1
John Willson Jun 2
Richd Dobbs 1
Nich Dison 1
Tho Fitzherbert 4
Jno Farloe 1 [Farley?]
Peter Rowlett 3
Mr George Worsham 3
Ess Bevill 4
Mr. Tho Batte 4
Jno Davis 1
Godf Ragsdale 1 servt. 1
Wm Dodson 1
James Francklin 1
Charles Clay 1
John Steward 4

44

Mr Essex Bevill is ordered to give notice to these.

Coll Wm Byrd 20
Wm Dany 2
Mr John Goode 4
Edwd Jones 2
Edwd Deely 2
Henry [Preut?] 1
Wm Blackman 2
Gilbert Jones 1
Henry Sherman Sen 1
Richd Pierce 1
Mr Richd Ward Sen 5

44

Coll Wm Byrd is ordered to give notice to these.

John Millner 6
Henry Pue 1
John Pledge 1
Tho Wood 1
Samll Moody 2
At Mr Hatcher's Sen 5
Mr Radford 5
John Steward 3
Jno Huddlesee 2
Nich Perkins 1
Richd Parker 2
Wm Wheatley 1
Wm Giles 4
John Leadd 1
Philemon Childers 1
Tho 1
Robt Clerke 1
John Watson 1
Wm Porter Sen 1
Charles Matthews 1

44

John Millner is ordered to give notice to these.

Edward Hatcher 3
Robert Bullington 4
Michael Turpin 3
Jno Farrar 4
Wm Farrar 2
Wm Basse 4
Barth Roberts 1

Jas Lisle 1
Jno Cox Sen 5
Mr Wm Elam 2
Richd Rabone 1
John Davis 4
Jno Burton Jun 5
Tho Davis 2
Samll Bridgewater 3

44

Coll Farrar is ordered to give notice to theses.

Abell Gower 7
Mr Tho Branch Sen 2
Xtopher Branch Jun 3
James Forrest 2
Mr Tho Osborne 7
Tho Bottom 1
Mr Edwd Osborne 3
Phillip Turpin 3
Att Esqr Place's Quarter 6
Richd Perrin 3
Tho Perrin 1
Joshua Stap 2
John Bayly 1
Tho Risbe 3

44

Mr. Abell Gower is ordered to give notice to these.

John Cressy, Thomas Jefferson, Edward Thatcher, Timothy Allen and William Ballow were assessed extra by the Henrico Court 23 December 1679, having been omitted in this levy.

Of the 145 names given in the list for 1624 above the descendants of only three can be identified postively in the list for

1679. These are Christopher Branch, Thomas Osborne and Thomas Harris.[1]

Christopher Branch lived for many years at Kingsland, near Proctor's Creek, on the south side of the River in that part of Henrico which later became Chesterfield, and died in the year 1681. He was the progenitor of a numerous family and the descent through his third son Christopher Branch, Jr., has been made the subject of a family history written by James Branch Cabell and published with the title of *"Branchiana."* Thomas Osborne lived at "Coxendale," also in the present county of Chesterfield, and died post 1633. The first three or four generations of the Osborne family have been made the subject of a genealogical account by William G. Stanard, published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* volume IV, page 247, et seq. The descendants of Thomas Harris (who died post 1647) have also been partially worked out by Mr. Stanard and published in chart form and a great deal of the material from the chart embodied in an article published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* volume IV, page 248, et seq.

It is not at all improbable that Joseph Royall and Thomas Sheppey (a name variously rendered Sheppey, Sheppy, Shippy, Shippey, and Sheepy) of the list for 1624 were the ancestors of the families of their names appearing in the 1679 list. It is stated in a patent granted to Joseph Royall 26 August 1635 that 50 of the land then granted him was for his own "personal adventure" (synonymous with immigration into the colony) and 50 acres each for his *first* wife Thomasin and his *now* wife Ann and his brother Henry Royall, and Thomas Sheppy of Henrico had a patent July 1637 for 300 acres about 3 miles above Curles on a branch of Four Mile Creek in which also it is stated that 50 acres thereof were granted to him for his own "personal adven-

---

[1] It is not improbable that others of the list of 1624 had descendants still living in the colony in 1679, but who had moved from Henrico to other counties. Doubtless, a number of these earlier settlers had descendants through daughters but it is almost impossible to discover anything about such points owing to the destruction of all of the Henrico County records prior to 1677.

ture" and 250 acres for transportation of 5 persons among them Elizabeth Shippey. Thus we see that Royall and Sheppy were still living in Henrico as late as 1635 and 1637 respectively.[1]

The name of William Browning occurs in the 1624 list and that of George Browning in the one of 1679, but there is no evidence of any connection between the two men. The names of Hobson and Farmer appear in the former list, though not in the latter, and there were families of Hobsons and Farmers in Henrico during the first decade (and later) of the eighteenth century. The name of a John Watson appears in the 1624 list and the name of John Watson also appears in the list of 1679 but it has been impossible to identify them as father and son or to establish any connection whatsoever between them. The name of Oage (certainly an uncommon one) appears in 1624 and a family by that name was living in Goochland County in 1730 but any connecting link is missing.

In the Henrico list of 1679 the names of Blackman, Baugh, Bass, Bullington, Bridgewater, Farrar and Jefferson and Woodson appear. In 1624 a Nicholas Blackman and a Thomas Baugh were living in West & Shirley Hundred and in 1625 a Thomas Baugh was living on the "College land" in Henrico. William Farrar, a William Basse and Mrs. Basse were living in "Jordan's Journey" and a Nicholas Bullington and a Richard Bridgewater and wife (evidently the same as Bridgewater) in "the Maine" near James City and a John and Sarah Woodson in "Flower de Hundred." We find the name of John Jefferson among the resi-

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[1] That these patents were granted to Royall and Sheppy in 1635 and 1637 with the statement that they were for their own immigrations is not at all indicative that they were not the persons whose names appear in the list of 1624. It will be found that most of the men whose names are given in this list, if they or their heirs ever received patents, did not receive them until some years after coming into the colony. In the cases of "servants" the reason is obvious. See also Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.*

dents of Elizabeth City in 1624 (and one of the same name was a member of the first Assembly of Virginia in 1619) [1]

It is an established fact that William Farrar who lived in "Jordan's Journey" in 1624 was the ancestor of the Henrico County family of that name and the Woodsons of Henrico claim John and Sarah Woodson of "Flower de Hundred" as their ancestors and while circumstantial evidence points to a close connection it must be frankly stated that no proof of the claim has been produced. It has also been so far impossible to prove any connection between the Henrico families of Blackman, Baugh, Bass, Bullington, Bridgewater and Jefferson and the Nicholas Blackman,[2] Thomas Baugh, William Basse, Nicholas Bullington, Richard Bridgewater and John Jefferson whose names appear in the list of 1624 as quoted above.[3]

By reference to the list of those who were killed in the Indian Massacre of 22 March 1622-3 *"At Captain Berckley's Plantation, seated on Falling Creek"* (see ante) it will be seen that the names

---

[1] These names are from the *List of the Living in Virginia* 1623/4 published in full (*Senate Document—Extra*) *Colonial Records of Virginia* [Richmond: 1873], pp. 37-54 and Hotten, *Emigrants,* 169-189. West and Shirley Hundred were in Charles City County, about 37 miles above Jamestown and virtually on the location of the present "Shirley," home of the Carter family. "Jourdans Journey" was at the present Jordan's Point, formerly in Charles City, now Prince George Co., a short distance below the present City Point where the Appomattox flows into the James. "In the Maine, near James City" refers to the mainland in the vicinity of Jamestown Island and Elizabeth City was the country in the vicinity of the present Elizabeth City County.

[2] There was a Jeremy Blackman, mariner, who had a patent 14 May 1646 for 400 acres on south side James River, Henrico [now Chesterfield Co.] south of Christopher Branch's land.

[3] Of mentions of the name of Bullington, however, the following should be noted here: On 25 Feby, 1636, Eliz. Ballhash, widow, received patent for land in Henrico which adjoined "land late in possession of Nicholas Ballington [probably clerical error for Bullington]; a George Bullington had a patent in Henrico in 1664 and the will of Nicholas Bullington was recorded in Henrico in 1691. These mentions of the name, taken together with that of Robert Bullington in the list of 1679 are certainly suggestive of a long continued residence of the family here and of a connection between these several people.

of "John Howlet and his son" are given among others. It is stated in the original of this list that the names were published "To the end that their lawfull heyres may take speedy order for the inheritinge of their lands and estates there. For which the honorourable company of Virginia are ready to do them all right and favour."

It is impossible at this time (and it may never be possible) to state whether John Howlet, who was killed by the Indians in 1622-3 at the Falling Creek settlement had other children than "his son" who suffered the same fate; nor would one venture to state positively that his "heirs" came to Virginia and took up what estate he left. But it is at least a singular coincidence that one "Tho (mas) Howlett, aged about 58 years" who made a deposition in Henrico Court in August 1685 was evidently living near Falling Creek or had some intimate connection with a mill conducted there. His deposition recites "that ye day before Aprill Court last Sam Bridgewatter went from his work at FALLING CREEK MILL (well to ye deponents thinking) designing as he pretended to come to court next day and ye day after court ye sd. Bridgwater came to work again" etc. etc. it appearing that the said Bridgwater had lost his horse. Thomas Howlett stated that his age was about 58 years in 1685 therefore he was born about the year 1627 or 8. He could not have been a son of the John Howlett who lost his life in the Massacre but he may have been a grandson or a nephew. Though the name of Howlett does not appear in the Henrico list of 1679, its absence is owing to the fact that the family was living in Charles City County at that date[1] and did not return to Henrico until about 1680.

Having compared the Henrico lists for 1624 and 1679 and stated the degrees of relationship *known* to exist between persons of the same name which appear in each and having also stated the *possibilities* and *probabilities* of connection between certain persons whose surname is given in both lists we will now record the *earliest mentions* (up to this present time discovered) of the

[1] Deed of Thomas Howlett and Mary, ux. and John Croley, of Charles City Co. to Darby Enroughty and and Gilly Gromarrin of Henrico was proved in Henrico Court 1 February 1678-9.

names of families which appear in the 1679 list *but not* in the one for 1624.

Francis Epes was the grandson of Francis Epes who was certainly in the colony in 1625 for in that year he was a member of the House of Burgesses. A patent issued to him 26 August 1635 states that the land thereby granted him was for the "personal adventure" of himself and for the transportation of his sons John, Francis and Thomas Epes and 30 servants. Richard Ward, Senior, was the son of Seth Ward "of Verina, in the upper parts" (Henrico) who had a lease for 50 acres of land 30 May 1634. One George Archer is named as a headright in a patent to Francis Epes, 26 August 1635 for whose importation as a servant Epes received the customary 50 acres of land. Though positive proof is lacking it is not improbable that this George Archer was in some way connected with, not improbably the same person as (or the father of) George Archer who had a patent for land in Henrico in 1665 and died about 1677 leaving a son George Archer (of the 1679 list) and other children. The Cockes of the list were sons of Richard Cocke who had a patent for land in 1636. "Mr. Hatcher, Senr," was William Hatcher who on 1 June 1636, received a patent for land for the importation of himself and three others into the colony. Benjamin and Edward Hatcher, of the list, were sons of this William Hatcher. Gilbert Platt is first mentioned as a "servant" imported by Elizabeth Parker, widow, in a patent which received 12 February 1635. "John Cox, sen" (who himself had a patent for 550 acre known as "Harrstocks" [Harrowattacks or Arrowhattocks] on 29 March 1665) was doubtless a son of William Cox who on 29 November 1636 and 29 October 1637 had two patents for 150 acres each "about 2½ miles above Harroe Attacks" on James River in Henrico County. Styling himself as "John Cox, Senr. of Harryaddocks, planter," in February 1685-6, the John Cox, Senr. of the 1679 list conveyed land to his son William Cox. A Nicholas Pledge is mentioned as a headright in a patent to one William Clerke 29 September 1636 for land in Henrico County. John Davis (with Robert Craddock) had a patent 15 August 163—for 300 acres on "a great swamp." The patent mentions "Longfields" and in a patent which he received in October 1642, for land adjoining his former patent called

"Longfields" it is stated that a portion of the land was granted for the transportation of Davis' wife Mary. Mr. William Clerke (rendered also Clarke) and Robert Clerke, of the list for 1679, probably had their ancestor in one William Clerke (or Clarke) who had patents for land in Henrico in September 1636 and May 1638. William Worsham was in Henrico certainly as early as November 1640 for in a patent granted to William and George Worsham in November 1652 it is stated that a part of the said land was sold by Seth Ward to the said William Worsham 2 November 1640. William Worsham was the father of John Worsham, of the list, and "Mr. George Worsham," of the list, was the patentee. The Elams were represented in Henrico as early as November 1642 in the person of Robert Elam who at that date had a patent for land above Bermuda Hundred, between the lands of Thomas Sheppy and Richard Johnson and among the head-rights to the patent is the name of Ann Elam. It appears from the records that Ann, the daughter of Robert Elam, married Gilbert Elam, who appears in the list for 1679 as "Mr Gilbert Elam, sen." How much earlier than September 1661 Gilbert Elam was in the colony does not appear but in that month he had a patent for land on south side of James River, between the lands of Thomas Sheppy and Richard Johnson. At what date William Elam came into the colony is not known. Martin Elam had a patent in 1672. The degree of relationship existing between Gilbert Elam, William Elam and Martin Elam is not disclosed by the remaining records, nor is the degree of relationship existing between any one of the trio and Robert Elam given, with the exception that Gilbert married the daughter of Robert. William Elam and Martin Elam were, however, doubtless uncle and nephew as William Elam in his will dated 18 February 1688-9 devises property to "my loving cozen Martin Elam," the term cousin being in that day generally applied to nephews and nieces. Then in his will dated 7 March 1691-2, Martin Elam bequeathes several articles which, he says, were "my uncles." Martin Elam also mentions in his will silver spoons "two of them on old Robert Elam's mark." Nicholas Perkins had a patent 30 August 1650 for land in Bermuda Hundreds stated to have been granted "by and for the transportation of 4 persons into the colony; the names of three of them being given: "Mary Perkins, William Owen,

and Richard Hues." One cannot but wonder if Nicholas Perkins himself was the fourth person. Major William Bellew had a patent in October 1651 while the name of William Ballow appears in the list for 1679. The spelling of the names is different but one familiar with records of the period will realize at least the possibility of a connection between the two.

The earliest mention (so far discovered) in Henrico County patents, and other sources, of other names which appear in the list for 1679 are: Henry Lowne (or Lound) March 1652 a patent to himself, John Greenhough, December 1652 (mentioned as a headright in a patent granted to himself), William Baugh was a magistrate in Henrico in 1656; Francis Redford[1] had a patent in August 1659; John Milner is mentioned as a headright in the patent to Francis Redford just mentioned; Michael and Philip Turpin were sons of Michael Turpin whose will was made in July 1663 and whom the records show purchased land from William Farrar as early as 1656; George Bullington, a patent in June 1664; James Aiken (Eakin?) a patent in October 1665. Patents also appear for Thomas Batte 1665;[2] Thomas Webster, October 1665; Thomas Wells, March 1665; John Burton March 1665-6; John Puckett, January 1665-6 (he was the father of the several Pucketts mentioned in the list for 1679); John Wilson, June 1666; Solomon Knibb (father of Samuel Knibb, of the list) September 1667; Robert Bowman, Junior, (adjoining land of Robert Bowman, Senior,) in September 1667; George Brownинge, May 1668; Godfrey Ragsdale, January 1668-9;[3] Bartholo-

---

[1] A Richard Radford (the form used in pronouncing Redford) is mentioned as a headright in a patent granted William Hatcher June 1, 1636.

[2] Thomas Batte and Henry Batte sons of Mr. John Batte, deceased, had patent 29 April 1665 [or 1668] for 5878 acres, 2 rods, 8 poles, on south side James River in Appomattox in Charles City County beginning at head of Jordan's land and Merchants Hope—the head of Charles City Creek; due for transportation of 118 persons into the colony, *among them,* William Bate, Jur. 2 times, Martha Bate, Jno. Bate, Senior, Jno *Batte,* Junr. Henry Batte, Tho Batte.

[3] Godfry Ragsdale was born about 1645, and on 9 November 1679 he conveyed to Thomas Batte, Senior, 50 acres which were given to said Ragsdale by the will of Mr. John Cookney, deceased, of Bristol Parish,

mew Chandler, October 1671; Essex Bevill and Amy, his wife, October 1661; Richard Perrin, March 1672; John Stuard (Stuart or Stewart) March 1672-3; Charles Fetherston (Featherstone), September 1672; Timothy Allen, October 1673; Henry Shereman (Sherman), November 1673; Abell Gower (and also a William Gower) was a headright to a patent granted to John Davis in April 1672; Richard Kennon probably did not come into the colony until some time after 1665; William Randolph came to Virginia about 1673;[1] John Pleasants about 1665; William Byrd about 1674; the Ishams about 1656; Thomas Chamberlaine appears twice as a headright to a patent granted to Charles Featherstone in 1672; John Goode came "to Virginia prior to 1660" (according to Goode's *"Virginia Cousins"*); Abraham Womack (as the name Womecke is generally rendered) was in Virginia as early as 1674 in which year a dispute over the property of his brother William Womack was settled by the General Court Giles Carter appears first as a beneficiary under the will of James Crewe in 1676.[2]

Of the remaining 83 names in the list for 1679 all that can be positively said in this connection is that their representatives were certainly living in Henrico at the time the records begin in 1677. It is no doubt true, however, that many of them, or their fathers, were in the colony at a considerably earlier date; this seems cir-

---

Henrico Co., which was recorded in Henrico Court 1 December 1646, and the land conveyed to Batte adjoined the land said Ragsdale lived on. On 18 May 1638 John Cookney had two patents for land in Henrico one of 20 acres "being a swamp within a neck of land" and the other for 150 acres adjoining Joseph Chadd and Richard Taylor.

[1] Henry Randolph (uncle of William Randolph) came to Virginia about 1650 and was for some years a prominent official in Henrico County. For the descendants of Henry Randolph see WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, IV, p. 125.

[2] Thomas Branch (of the 1679 list) and Christopher Branch, Junior, were son and grandson of Christopher Branch of the 1624 list; Edward and Thomas Osborne grandsons of Thomas Osborne, of the 1624 list; William Harris probably the grandson by that name of Thomas Harris of 1624 list, Thomas Shippey was probably the son of Thomas Sheppy of 1625 and Joseph Royall (of 1679) a son or grandson of Joseph Royall of 1624.

cumstantially true of the Watkinses, Jeffersons, Strattons, Childerses, Clays[1] and several others.

The total destruction of the Henrico records prior to 1677 and the notable gaps in the files after that year, together with the fact that so many of the land patents which are stated to have been granted for the transportation or importation of persons into the colony fail to give the names of such headrights, makes it almost impossible to reach final conclusions in a study such as this. Nevertheless the remaining records have been pretty thoroughly searched with the above results. Even these should not be considered "final" except in the rare instances in which the man is stated to have been the immigrant ancestor of the family bearing his name. There are no doubt hidden away in the bodies of later deeds and patents much interesting information relative to a number of the persons whose names appear in the above lists and it is hoped that this tentative general study may encourage those who are personally interested to work over them and publish the results of their research.

Having "discovered" (in so far as it is possible at this time) the names of the early settlers and residents in Henrico the questions arise "what were they," "who were they," from the points of view of economic and social history.

(To Be Continued.)

[1] John Clay had a patent 13 July 1635 for 1200 acres in Charles City [now Prince George] Co., adjoining lands of Capt. Francis Hooke, up to the head of Ward's Creek and bounded north on James River, said land due 100 acres to said Clay as an old planter before the government of Sir Thomas Dale and the other 1100 acres for the transportation of 22 persons. In 1655 William Bayly patented 400 acres on Ward's Creek, Charles City Co. purchased of William Clay son of John Clay, who was assignee of Francis Hooke who patented in 1637. "These persons may have been ancestors of Henry Clay whose first recorded ancestor Henry [Charles] Clay was living in that part of Henrico now Chesterfield when the records begin in 1677. There was a Clay family in Surry Co. from an early date." W. G. Stanard in *Virginia Magazine,* III, p. 186. In the Musters of Virginia 1625 (Hotten, *Emigrants,* p. 211) "Jordan's Journey, Charles City. . . . John Claye, arrived in the *Treasurer* Feby, 1613; Anne, his wife, in the *Ann,* August 1623; servant, Wm. Nicholls, aged 25 years in the *Dutie,* May 1619." Charles Clay (first known ancestor of the Henrico Co. family) was born about 1647 and died 1686. He lived in that part of Henrico now Chesterfield Co. not many miles from the "Old Town" settlement which was about opposite to the site of the present city of Petersburg.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES

Some Notes on the Eppes Family.

Communicated by Dr. Christopher Johnston.[1]

Samuel Demoville & Elizabeth ux., heiress at law of Temple Eppes, vs. Eppes. Temple Eppes died intestate in 1766, possessed of a considerable estate & leaving two orphan children, viz.: Lewellin & Elizabeth Eppes. Peter Eppes (since decd.) was administrator of said Temple & acted as guardian of his children, & dying in 1774 (sic!) left a will appointing William Royall his executor. Lewellin Eppes was possessed of land in Charles City County, & by his will dated Sept. 11, 1755, devised it to his wife Angelica, who is now dead, with remainder to his son Peter. January 7, 1761, Temple Eppes, elder brother of Peter, gave bond to him not to disturb him the said Peter in the quiet possession of the river plantation, devised to said Peter by his father Lewellin Eppes, deceased. Said Peter Eppes, by will 29 March, 1773, devised said plantation to his son Peter. Lewellin Eppes, of Westover Parish, Charles City County, made his will September 11, 1755, which was proved March 5, 1758: He gave to son Temple Eppes 12 slaves; to granddaughter Angelica Wilkinson, negro girl at age or marriage; grand son Joseph Royall, son of Littleberry Royall a negro boy at age or marriage; wife Angelica the river plantation for life, and then to my son Peter Eppes now a minor; to my four daughters Eliza, Mary, Ann and Angelica—each a suit of mourning; rest of estate to be devised between wife and two sons; wife Angelica executrix; witnesses, William Watkins, Jr., Richard Royall, William Royall. Will of Peter Eppes of Charles City County, dated March 29, 1773, and proved July 7, 1773; to son Peter plantation whereon I dwell, called river plantation and four negroes; to son John Temple Eppes four negroes; bequests of negroes to daughters Eliza and An-

[1] Lately deceased in Baltimore.

gelica Eppes. Lapsed legacy left by my father Lewellin Eppes, for which there is a suit now depending in the General Court with my proportional part of estate of my deceased father-in-law John Hardyman &c., one third to my son Peter and remainder to my three children John Temple, Elizabeth and Angelica Eppes; friends William Royall, Sr., William Royall, Jr., and Stith Hardyman executors; witnesses, James Hardyman, William Hardyman, Jr.

TAYLOR: A reasonable price will be paid for a copy of the October, 1903, number of WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY by John M. Taylor. Address P. O. Box 249, Richmond, Virginia.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Announcement is hereby made that hereafter this magazine will be conducted under the joint management of Lyon G. Tyler, President of William and Mary College, and of William Clayton Torrence, curator of the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

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7. **Men of Mark in Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Men of Mark Publishing Co., Washington, D. C.

8. **Biographical Dictionary of Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York. 1915.

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LETTERS OF MAJOR THOMAS ROWLAND, C. S. A., FROM THE CAMPS AT ASHLAND AND RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1861.

Thomas Rowland was the eldest son of Major Isaac S. Rowland and Catherine Armistead Mason and was born in Detroit, Michigan, March 25, 1842. While yet a lad his father died and the home of his mother's people in Fairfax County, Virginia, became his home. Here he grew to manhood, receiving his early education in the Virginia schools. "In 1856 he was a student at Rensselear Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, and in July, 1859, he was entered at West Point. When he sent in his resignation, on the secession of Virginia, Cadet Rowland was at the head of his class, then consisting of forty-two members."

Thomas Rowland was commissioned Second Lieutenant, Provisional Army of Virginia, May 4, 1861; receiving a commission as Cadet in the Engineer Corps when the Provisional Army was transferred to the Confederate States. He rendered distinguished service in superintending the construction of coast defences in North Carolina and on July 22, 1862, was commissioned Captain in the Adjutant General's Department and assigned to the staff of Brigadier General Robert Ransom. In June, 1863, Captain Rowland was promoted to the rank of Major.

After the close of the War Major Rowland read law at the University of Virginia and was admitted to the bar, settling in Baltimore for the practice of his profession. He died in Baltimore, April 25, 1874.

The letters which are here printed were written by Major Rowland while training recruits for the army at the camps in Ashland and Richmond, Virginia.

The editors of the Quarterly are indebted to Miss Kate Mason Rowland, LL. D., of Richmond, Virginia, a sister of Major Rowland, for so kindly contributing these letters of her brother's for publication.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for July, 1915, will be found another very interesting series of Major Rowland's letters: *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point,* 1859-1861, to which Miss Rowland contributed an introduction in which she gives a detailed account of her brother's life.

ASHLAND CAMP, HANOVER COUNTY,
May 11th, 1861.

I have been at Ashland for four or five days, assisting in the instruction of raw recruits and the organization of a volunteer camp. It is no easy work, I can tell you; men from all vocations and positions in life, able to do most anything but drill. The officers being elected know as little as the men, and all have to be drilled alike. Yesterday about thirty cadets were sent up from the Institute and they prove of the greatest assistance. I have the Mount Vernon Guards under my especial charge. Lt. Turner, who was in the fifth class at West Point, is the only young officer here, so he is my principal companion. All the officers board at the hotel, as we cannot get any tents. The troops, about eight companies of infantry and five of cavalry, are all quartered in buildings, barns, and stables belonging to the race course. They cook their own rations of pork and beef and sleep on straw. Col. Ewell, who was an officer of the U. S. Dragoons, is in command of the post. Capt. Lomax, late of the U. S. Cavalry, is regimental adjutant. All the other officers except Quartermaster and Surgeons are volunteers. Capt. Lomax is away this evening, so I am to act as Adjutant and conduct the parade.

Ashland is a very pretty place, a sort of summer retreat from Richmond.

HD. QUARTERS, CAVALRY CAMP, ASHLAND, VA.,
May 15, 1861.

I am writing from the Adjutant's office of the Cavalry Camp, which is now my office, so my letter is dated accordingly. I have been appointed by Col. Ewell Adjutant of the Cavalry Camp, which now comprises six companies. It is soon to be increased by four more, making a full regiment. I have no uniform and no sabre yet and do not like to get one until I am sure that I will

be able to pay for it *myself*. I conduct Dress Parade in my grey pants and blue coat, and borrow a sabre from some one on the sick list. If we should receive marching orders, I can probably obtain a horse and a sabre in this way and march with the regiment.

These cavalry troops are the finest soldiers I have ever seen anywhere and bring with therm fine horses. They are mostly gentlemen, and both mentally and physically capable. I have just been out taking a snack with the Hanover Dragoons. They all cook their own rations, of course, but this morning one of them had received a special supply of pies and buttermilk from home. The ordinary ration is bread, pork, and beef, if it can be had. The officers all board at the hotel, which is kept in real old Virginia style, good country fare, and legions of little negro waiters always on hand.

The troops all keep in good health and good spirits. They are ready to fight, and the more reflecting ones ready to make peace, if those Yankees will keep their feet off the soil of the Old Dominion. You would be surprised to see what men we have in the ranks, cool headed farmers, and men of property and family, men who will give all they have and devote their lives to the cause of their native State. Men who were opposed to secession have taken arms to maintain the right to secede, recognizing the action of Virginia as the guide of their action. Troops arrive in Richmond continually from different parts of this State and from the South. If the Yankees wish it we will fight them, and by the help of God and a righteous cause *we'll whip them.* I am very busy at present, attending to my own duties, and instructing the uninitiated. Having been at West Point, I have the advantage in tactics, but I expect they can all beat me in riding.

Ashland is really a very pretty place, in spite of the poorness of the soil. It takes its name from its locality, being only about four miles from the birthplace of Henry Clay. The cottage in which he was born and the mill to which he used to ride upon a bag of corn are still standing. The birthplace of Patrick is also in this county; two noble Henrys who if they were now living, would speak and fight for Dixie's Land. I have quite a pleasant

time here, many pleasant officers and warm-hearted Virginians among these cavalry companies. My captain was a member of the Convention.

I wish you would send me the *Alexandria Gazette,* whenever you can; I like to hear all that is going on at home, and I cannot get it here, though it is quite a popular paper at present in Richmond. I sent the *Dispatch* this morning containing an excellent article about Gen. Butler. I wish I could hear you sing "Dixie's Land" this evening. Our bugler plays it quite well, but he doesn't play those words that you sing to it.

CAVALRY CAMP, ASHLAND, VA.,
June 14th, 1861.

I was so well satisfied to hear that you were safely out of Fairfax Co. and on your way to "Eastern View," that I have been culpably slow in offering my congratulations. I suppose you know that Uncle Robert [Genl Robert H. Chilton] has been in command here for several weeks, but having been appointed Asst. Adj. Gen. with the rank of Lt. Col. in the Confederate Army has returned to Richmond. Capt. Field who was the Instructor in Cavalry tactics at West Point, is stationed here in the same capacity. Three of my West Point friends passed here yesterday on their way to Richmond, Cadets Rice, Campbell, and Patterson, one from Kentucky, the others from Missouri and Arkansas. They were in the first class, and I suppose, graduated before they resigned.

I made application a few days ago for a commission in the Confederate Army. The civilized world from all quarters are beginning to condemn this war of subjugation against the South. The *London Times* compares it to England's war upon the American Colonies and suggests a similar result. The State Senate of Ohio has declared its intention of furnishing no more men to carry on a war of invasion and insurrection against the South. I shall not be surprised if we yet gained the victory without fighting a single battle, though we are ready to fight as many as Lincoln's army are willing to venture. Tyranny cannot

prosper in the Nineteenth Century, either from kings or republics. "*Sic Semper Tyrannis.*" I saw yesterday copied from a Georgia paper a proposition to call our Southern Republic the "Confederate States of Virginia."

Cavalry Camp, Ashland, Va.,
Sunday, June 16th, 1861.

I went to Richmond on Friday for the first time since I have been staying at Ashland. I went to see Cousin Maria [Mrs. Samuel Cooper]. Jennie was spending the day at the Spottswood with Maggie Howell, Mrs. Davis's sister. Miss Maggie was at West Point last summer, in fact spent the greater part of the summer there while her brother-in-law was engaged on the Congressional Commission which was sent there to revise the course of study.

Cavalry Camp, Ashland, Va.,
June 18th, 1861.

I was much pleased to hear from you by this morning's mail, and to receive the version of "Yankee Doodle," and the anecdote of the valiant Miss Goings. I have already read them aloud several times, much to the amusement of some of the officers. I will have them published as you requested.

Lt. Greble who was killed at the battle of Bethel Church was, as you supposed, the son-in-law of Prof. French. He leaves a handsome young wife and several young children. I was very sorry on many accounts to hear of his death, especially as I know he fought against us to obey orders of his superiors and not from malice to the South, and this is the case, I have no doubt, with many of the best officers of the U. S. Army. I believe this to be true also of many who have joined the Northern Army from citizen life, that they have done so from actual convictions of duty, duty to their government, for if it be a delusion it is not an individual one, it is a national one.

Lt. Kilpatrick of New Jersey who was wounded at Bethel Church is a classmate of Lord Hoxton. What a wonderful battle that was; it seems like an almost direct interposition of Providence.

We have another new cavalry company here, from Lunenburg, and two more expected. We have had two horse races this week gotten up by the soldiers with their own horses for the amusement of the camp. You know we are quartered at the Ashland Race Course. We are to have another on Saturday. On Friday the officers give a Military Ball to which $500.00 have already been subscribed by the different companies. I do not care to waste $5.00 on it, but being a staff officer and having been elected one of the managers I cannot well decline. I drew $66.00 last week in pay from the Provisional Army Virginia, from the 6th to the 31th of May. I will have to buy some new clothes, but I am waiting to see if there will be any hope of my needing the uniform of the Confederate Army. I heard in Richmond that no commission would be given to a person under twenty-one years of age. I am afraid it is true. If I had known this a month ago I might easily have obtained a lieutenantcy in one of those volunteer cavalry companies. I think I might do so yet, but I would much prefer the regular army so I will wait to hear from my application.

I spent the evening yesterday with several officers at Col. Macmurdo's. His daughters sang "What are the wild waves saying?" and "Juanita," both as duets. We had a serenade afterwards from the Lunenburg Cavalry who called upon each of the officers in succession for a speech. We all had to come out and do the best we could, though Capt. Field declares that for the future he intends to learn a speech that will do for all occasions. You ask how we live. We occupy a very nice house that belongs to the racing club, and having a mess of eighteen or twenty officers and a caterer who was one of the proprietors of the Exchange Hotel in Richmond before he joined the army, we, of course, live well. But I miss the "Cottage" strawberries. We have had very few, being compelled to send to Richmond for them.

Cavalry Camp, Ashland, Va.,

July 2, 1861.

I have not been able to write to you for the last day or two as four companies have been detached from this Post for active service, making us more busy than usual. At present we have but four companies left here, but more are expected. I was much struck this morning while inspecting the Guard at Guard Mounting to see in the ranks an old gray haired gentleman, whom I afterwards found to be Prof. Martin of some college in Prince Edward. I suppose he must be nearly sixty years old. I detailed him as one of the orderlies for Head Quarters, so that he would not have to walk post at night.

The Misses Johnson, two very pretty, agreeable young ladies, daughters of Major Johnson left yesterday. I will miss them very much. Miss Magill, a cousin of Nannie Magill and a relation of Mrs. Randolph has been visiting the Misses Brooke at Ashland. The latter also I find to be *Virginia Cousins.*

I hear nothing from my application; the Provisional Army, Virginia, is turned over to the Confederate States, and I am in hopes that they will revoke my commission. Of course they will be compelled to provide for me in some way by the laws of the Confederate States, but I don't relish the idea of descending from Lieutenant to Cadet. A gentleman proposed to me yesterday to assist him in raising a volunteer company and to take the place of 1st Lieutenant. This might do very well for the present but if the war should come to a speedy end or peace should be declared I might be left a citizen. The gentleman who made the proposition is an officer of one of the companies here; he is a member of the State Senate and has the reputation of being the ablest debater and one of the smartest men in the State. Thirty-nine Yankee prisoners passed here yesterday on their way to Richmond. They were captured by Baltimoreans together with a cargo of ice and one of fruit bound for Washington. They were taken in the Potomac. The U. S. Congress meets day after tomorrow. I am curious to see what steps they will take. I doubt whether there will be a dozen bold advocates of peace; the reac-

tion that is going on in the North is not yet strong enough to stifle the war cry of fanaticism and delusion.

I suppose you have heard that Orton Williams, late aide de camp to General Scott, has arrived in Richmond and is appointed A. D. C. to General Lee. It is the same one I suppose with whom I studied Virgil at Mr. Armstrong's school when I was twelve years old.

CAVALRY CAMP, ASHLAND, VA.,
July 6th.

I intended to have written to you yesterday upon my return from Richmond to tell you how I have just been disappointed in getting an excellent position in active service. As soon as I saw Uncle Robert he told me that Maj. Ned Johnson recently of the U. S. Army and in command at Governor's Island, N. Y., had arrived in Richmond, had been appointed a colonel in the Confederate Army and placed in command of a fine regiment from Georgia. He expected to leave to-day to reinforce Garnett's command in Western Virginia. He wished me to go with him as Adjutant of the regiment. Of course I was pleased with the prospect of going into active service under such a good officer, a Virginian and a most pleasant gentleman. Col. Johnson was perfectly confident that I would get the appointment without difficulty and offered to take the matter in hand himself and apply to the President. In the meanwhile we took tea together and talked over the matter as if it was all settled, and the more I saw of him the better I liked him. After supper he went to see the President. President Davis said that he remembered me very well at West Point and did not doubt that I was perfectly qualified for the position, but I was not of age. What a misfortune it is to be too young! So I retire to the shades of Ashland to await further orders and drill cavalry.

In Richmond I met friends at every corner, cadets from West Point and soldiers that I have drilled at Ashland. Joe Packard was there intending to enlist in an artillery company. When I found I could not get the Adjutancy myself, I recommended one of my West Point friends to Col. J. for the position.

Ashland is a very pleasant place; there are some pretty young ladies here, and plenty of horses to ride. On Sundays I generally dine with the Wickhams, an old Virginia family about four miles from Ashland, and relations of Rooney Lee. Young Mrs. Wickham is one of the youngest and handsomest married women that I have ever seen, and with a simplicity and artlessness that is perfectly charming. She was married at sixteen. Her husband, Capt. Wickham is in command of the Hanover Dragoons at Fairfax Court House. We hear news this morning of a battle between Johnston and Patterson. Washington is with Johnston's army.

I find it difficult to get anything to read here without buying it. I have just finished Macauley's fifth volume of the History of England. None can read it without regretting that death should have carried him off when his splendid task was only half completed. The description of William's death which closes the volume is as beautiful as anything he has ever written. I am now reading Charles XII. in French so as to kill two birds with one stone.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY, INVENTOR OF THE STEAMBOAT

James Rumsey was born at "Bohemia Manor," Cecil County, Maryland, in 1743. His father was a farmer of good social standing with a large family and limited means, but the son acquired a pretty fair education, considering the times, as his letters show. He served as a soldier in the Revolution, and at the close of the war, in 1783, with Nicholas Orrick as partner, Rumsey went into the mercantile business at Bath, now known as Berkeley Springs, in Morgan County, West Virginia. In 1784 with Robert Throgmorton he kept a boarding house for visitors to the springs, and when "the Potomac Improvement Co." was established became its secretary.

His mind, however, had a mechanical turn, and several years previous to 1783 he applied himself to perfecting a boat for navigating rivers. His first boat appears to have been propelled by mechanical power alone and in 1784 he showed a model of it to General Washington, who had a cottage at Berkeley Springs, and Washington became an eye-witness of the working powers of the model by an actual experiment in running water. In the fall of the same year Rumsey obtained from the Virginia Legislature an act protecting his right of navigation within that State for ten years, and soon after the Maryland Legislature passed a similiar provision. Rumsey was no novice in the possibilities of steam, and about September, 1784, he began to study how to apply its power to boat navigation. He removed about this time to Shepherdstown, constructed a new boat fifty feet long, and on December 3, 1787, after a preliminary private trial in March, 1786, made his first public exhibition of the invention at Shepherdstown in the presence of many persons—comprising General Horatio Gates, Colonel William Darke, Colonel Joseph Swearinger, Jeremiah Morrow, afterwards Governor of Ohio, John Mark and other prominent people. The trial was repeated December 14, 1787, and the boat attained a speed against the current of four miles an hour

Shortly after this Rumsey in January, 1788, published a pamphlet, entitled "A Paean or Short Treatise on Steam," in which, alluding to this second experiment, he claimed that a speed of ten miles an hour might readily be obtained through the use of steam.

The same winter (1788) Rumsey went to Philadelphia, and the interest awakened there in his steamboat resulted in the formation of the "Rumseian Society." The May following, aided by this Society, he went to Europe, bearing letters of introduction from Washington, Franklin, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Rush, and other distinguished Americans.

In England he made the acquaintance of the Society of the Arts, and procured various patents from the British government for various improvements in steam engines, pumps, boilers and mill machinery, but the main object of his visit was to introduce the steamboat, and to this he addressed himself with his accustomed energy. He was a poor man, however, and was constantly short of funds. In order to pay his way he had to engage in various side labors, some of which are referred to in the letters that follow. He struggled on, however, and the boat was at length finished and made ready for public trial. It was 100 feet long, with proportionate breadth of beam and depth of hold.

But after all the burden borne, on the very eve of triumph, Mr Rumsey was not spared to witness the consummation. On December 20, 1792, he delivered an address before the Society of Arts in London, on hydrostatics, immediately after which he busied himself in wording resolutions to be entered in the Society's book. While thus engaged he complained of a violent pain in his temple. He became speechless, and though competent medical assistance was rendered him, expired at the Adelphi Hotel the next evening at about quarter past nine, December 21, 1792. His remains were interred in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster, London.

In spite of his decease the trial was made of his steamboat, and as stated in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for February, 1793, page 182, the trial proved very successful, for the boat sailed against wind and tide at the rate of "four knots an hour."

Rumsey's claim to precedence was fiercely contested by John Fitch, of Philadelphia, but the question is settled against the latter by his own words, as he states himself that the first idea of a steamboat occurred to him in April, 1785. Moreover, Rumsey gave the first public demonstrations of the steamboat's success.

Rumsey will always remain an interesting figure for he paved the way for the success of Fulton, whom he met in England and doubtless influenced. Anything like a full biography of him has never been written, though a sketch of the man and his work was prepared for the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society by George M. Beltzhoover, Jr., and printed in 1900 by the West Virginia Historical Society.

The helmsman on Rumsey's boat at Shepherdstown at the demonstration, December 3, 1787, was Colonel Charles Morrow, a brother of Rumsey's wife. Two other brothers of his wife were among the spectators, John Morrow, who afterwards was a member of Congress from Virginia (March 4, 1805-March 3, 1809) and Jeremiah Morrow (born at Gettysburg in 1771), Senator of the United States (1813-1819) from Ohio, and Governor of that State (1823-1826). One of the passengers on the steamer was Ellen Mark, who before marriage was also a Morrow, probably a sister or cousin of Rumsey's wife. Her husband, John Mark, was a Scotch-

Irishman from Ulster, and founder of the first Presbyterian Church in Fredericksburg. His daughter Ann, who was with her mother on the steamer, married Hon. John Baker, of Shepherdstown, and had a daughter Ann Baker, who married Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy under Tyler.

In the archives of the Virginia State Library are the papers of a suit originally begun in the High Court of Chancery for Staunton, Virginia. These papers were deposited in the Library by order of the Circuit Court of Augusta County, in 1907, at the instance of Armistead C. Gordon, chairman of the Library Board. The suit was brought by Doctor James McMechen against Rumsey's executor, Edward Rumsey, for settlement of alleged indebtednesses of his testator. These papers have never been published before and of them the most important are now published with the consent of Doctor Henry R. McIlwaine, State Librarian. They are chiefly valuable for throwing light on Rumsey's movements while in England.[1]

To The Honble George Wythe Chancellor of Virginia

Respectfully complaining sheweth unto Your Honor his Orator James McMeechen of the County of Berkeley.

That some time in or about the year 1784 a certain James Rumsey and your Orator entered into Articles of agreement (here ready to be produced) for the purpose of prosecuting and receiving

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[1] The following is a list of the documents filed in the cause of McMechen vs. Rumsey.

1. Copy of order of Circuit Court of Augusta County, Virginia, directing that the papers in the ended chancery cause McMechen vs. Rumsey be deposited in the Virginia State Library.

2. Bill filed by James McMechen. (Printed in full.)

3. Writ of summons (to sergeant of corporation of Winchester) against Edward Rumsey, executor of James Rumsey, deceased. Dated 13 December, 1799.

4. Writ of attachment (personal), to sergeant of corporation of Winchester, against Rumsey for contempt of court.

5. Copy of order in the High Court of Chancery, May 16, 1801, taking as confessed the bill of the complainant, McMechen, in view of Rumsey's refusal to answer a writ of attachment for contempt.

6. Answer of Edward Rumsey, executor of James Rumsey, deceased, to a bill of complaint exhibited against him in the High Court of Chan-

profit by an Invention of constructing boats to sail ag^t^ Rapid stream, by which agreement it will appear that the said James Rumsey and your orator stipulated to pursue jointly and severally with their utmost deligence & attention every Most probable sucessfull Measures for obtaining either premiums or exclusive Rights from the several states of America or from the United States in Congress or from any principality, State or Kingdom in the eastern World at the joint expense of them the said Rumsey & your Orator their heirs &c. and upon obtaining such premiums or exclusive Rights, the said Rumsey should be entitled to three fourth parts thereof and Your Orator to one fourth. Among other things stated in said agree^t^ the parties bound themselves in the penal sum of one hundred thousand pounds.

And your Orator further sheweth that the said James Rumsey being a man of abilities, well versed in the Doctrines of Hydro-

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cery wherein James McMeechen is complainant, and exhibits A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H referred to in said answer. (Printed in full.)

A. Articles of agreement between James Rumsey and James McMeechen, 10 November, 1784.

B. Letter from James Rumsey to James McMeechen, dated London, April 15th, 1792.

C. Letter from James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated Philadelphia, May 14th, 1788.

D. Letter from James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated London, September 12th, 1791.

E. Letter from James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated London January 5, 1791.

F. Letter from James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated London, August 23d, 1791.

G. Joseph Barnes with Daniel Parker, award. Dated, London, 9 March, 1795.

H. Letter of James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated London March 30, 1792.

7. Letter from James Rumsey to Charles Morrow, dated London August 4th, 1789. (Printed in full.)

8. Letter from Joseph Barnes to Charles Morrow, dated Philadelphia, January 29th, 1792. (Printed in full.)

statics, central forces and the Laws of gravitation, aspired to other objects of invention, which were extremely usefull to the world such as Rumseys improvement on Doctor Barker's Mill, Rumsey's steam boiler &c. &c. in the proffitts of which arising from premiums, exclusive Rights or otherwise your Orator was also entitled to One fourth part. Your Orator futher sheweth that in consideration of the aforesd. agree[t] he advanced by different payments unto the said Rumsey the sum of three hundred pounds being the full amot. of his part of the expences attending the experiments of said Rumsey, as will appear in part by said Rumsey's letter and the books belonging to what was called the Rumseyan Society now in the hands of John Morrow of Shepherd's town, Berkeley County. That the said Rumsey made considerable sales of the above inventions in Philadelphia and received large sums of money of which your Orator was entitled at least to the sum of one hundred and thirty odd pounds, that he migrated to England about the year 1789 or 1790 and there prosecuted his plans aforesaid and made considerable sales receiving at One time the sum of two thousand pounds which he remitted to this Country as follows £1000: to the Rumseyan Society which came to the hands of One Joseph Barns and one thousand pounds in goods wares and merchandise which came to the hands of Charles Morrow since deceased with orders that these sums should be distributed among the parties intrusted, Out of which your Orator was entitled to receive £500: being his fourth part. Your Orator further charges that in or about the month of December 1792 the said James Rumsey departed this life having previously made & published his last will & Testament in Writing thereby constituting Edward Rumsey his brother Exor. who took upon himself the burthen of the administration & whom your Orator prays may made a Dft. to this his bill of compt. your Orator charges that the said Edwd. Rumsey came to an Acct. & settlement with Barns and Morrow and others for the monies remitted as aforesd and received a large sum of money particularly Your Orators shares except as to the sum of fifty two pounds Penn[a] Cur[y] which y[r] Orator recd. of the said Charles Morrow that the said Edwd. Rumsey the Dft. deputed the aforesaid Joseph

Barns to go to England and to dispose of the inventions of the said James Rumsey decd. which your Orator is informed were sold for the sum of seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling money of which Your Orator was entitled to one fourth part But now so it is May it please your honor the said Deft. combining and confederating to and with divers persons unknown to your Orator but when discovered he prays May be made Defts. to this his bill of complt how to injure & oppress him, hath refused to account your Orator for any part of his shares aforesd. altho. repeatedly called upon giving out in speeches that your Orator is not entitled to any part and again denying that any monies have come to his hands All which actings and doings are contray to equity and good conscience and tend to the Manifest injury of Your Orator in the premisses. In Tender consideration where of and for as much as your Orator is remideless by the strict rules of the common Law but only releaveable in a court of Equity where delinquents of this kind can be compelled to account upon oath To the end therefore that the dft. may upon his corporal oath full true and perfect answer make to all and singular the premisses as fully and completely as if the same were herein again expressly asked and enterrogated and the Dft Rumsy may be compelled to account with your Orator for the proffitts made by his Testator and those reced. by him & the Deft. and be decreed to pay unto your Orator the full amot. of his fourth part of all such proffitts and that your Orator May have such other & further relief as unto the court May Seem Meet &c.

Holmes Pq.

(Backed) McMeekin v Rumsey
Suit brought to March term 1800
August Rules 1800 Bill and time
May term 1801 Bill taken for confessed
June Rules 1801 answer and Gen Rep & Com
January Rules 1802 set for hearing on plts motion
thus the cause remained on the docket of the said
Court, the first day of February 1802.

P. Tinsley

McMechen vs Rumseys Exors. } Bill

Suit brought to March term 1800
May term 1801 bill taken
for confessed.

August 6, 1800

To The Honorable George Wythe Chancellor of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The Answer of Edward Rumsey as Executor of the Will and Testament of James Rumsey deceased to a Bill of complaint exhibited against him in the High Court of Chancery wherein James McMachen is Complainant.

This Respondant now and at all times reserving to himself all manner of benefit of exception to the manifest errors uncertainties and imperfections in the Complainant's bill contained to so much thereof as he is advised is material to be responded unto he answerth and Saith; That true it is that on the tenth day of November in the year 1784 an article of covenant and agreement was enterred into by the said Complanant on the one part and this Respondants testator on the other; which said article of covenant marked (A) this Defendant prays may be taken as part of this Answer: that from the recital and current of the said Article as well as from the belief of this Respondt[t] it was the evident intent of the parties that the contract should be exclusively confined to the procuring of Patents and exclusive rights in the manner form therein discribed to a certain mechanic invention of the genius of the said decedant of a boat constructed to sail against rapid currents, and this Respondant now protests against any other inferrence from or construction of the said article, and avers that he knows of no other contract between the said parties save that which may grow from the letter and spirit of the said article of covenant: that it is apparent from the said article that the prosecution of the said Patents and exclusive rights was to

be at the joint expense and risque of the said parties and that the emoluments and products of the said inventions directly and indirectly should be one fourth thereof to the Complainant and three fourths thereof to this Respondt's Testator: and that the Complainant never embarked in the fate or proceeds of any other invention of the decedant and would have no claim to the proffitts thereof; that some time in the year 1793 at the urgent request and instance of the said McMachen and while this Resopnd[t] an a certain Joseph Barnes were entirely unwary and while this Respondant was ignorant of any article between the said parties, he with the said Barnes was induced to sign a Certificate the purport of which he cannot now recolect, but which he conceives embraced greater lattitude than the above exposition of the said article, but he now solemly avers that the perusal of the said article which came to him by a private and accidental conveyance from Philadelphia subsequent to the said Certificate, has induced him to vary from the said Certificate: a paper executed more from an anxiety to do ample justice to the Complainant than from an adiquate comprehention of the contract and its circumstances: that it has since appeared evident to this Respondant that the decedant could not have been so insensible to the dignity of his being as to have contemplated by the said contract a surrender to the Complainant on any conditions of one fourth of the product of his thoughts and genius to the day of his death. this Respondant has merely understood that some advances were made by the Complainant to the decedant, but to what extent he cannot state neither hath he any vouchers in his posession to elucidate this point, but this is well known to this Respondant that intervening the date of the said article. and the 14th day of May 1788 the period of the decedant's departure for England the various expenditures in the prosecution of the invention: by applications and journies to many states in the Union, and to the Congress of the United States; by innumerable experiments; by the erection of expensive Works on the Potomac and other incidental expenses amounted to a sum the Complainants proportion of which would far have exceeded the sum of 300£ stated in the Complanants Bill and which this Respond[t] believes is meant to

be Pennsy[a] currency. That some time in May 1788 the decendant arrived in the city of Philadelphia where he was honored with the patronage of the most enlightened characters of his country; but from a strange fatality he did not derive the slightest pecuniary advantages in that city from his invention, and consequently made no sales so that the alegation of the Complainants Bill that the decedant made sales and received emoluments therefrom in the city of Philadelphia is groundless which will more fully appear by the lower part of the first and the whole of the second page of a letter from the decedant to the said Complainant marked (B) and which is prayed to be taken as part of this answer, which letter having been found by the widow of a certain Charles Morrow an acquaintance of both parties and who in his life time accidently possessed the same, was by her handed to this Respond[t]— true it is that just previous to the decendants departure for England and at other times after the total sum of 600£ sterling was advanced by the Rumsian Society merely as an adventure, with the decedant for the promotion of his general plans, and which the Testator thought himself bound to refuse from principles of honor. In the year 1788 which will appear by Letter Marked (C) and which is prayed as part of this answer, a Society partly from the exertions of the decedant and others, became organized in Philadelphia under the title of the Rumseian Society, by which society the sum aforesaid was as aforesaid advanced: from the urgent wishes of the said society zealous for the promotion of mechanic science, and the pressure of his own affairs, the Testator was about to depart for the eastern world the then expanded theatre of genius and emulation, where he was taught to think an ample field would be open for the exercise of his humble talents in the acquirement of a fair fame and honest subsistance: that for the promotion of his success, the said Society furnished him with recommendatory addresses and part of the above sum evidenced by drafts on respectable persons in London that under these sanctions on the 14th day of May 1788 the testator took his departure for Europe. That after the Testator arrived in London he found himself in a strange and great Kingdom whose character has even been to concentrate the springs of action into mo-

tives of sordid gain supported more by the strength of his recommendations than pecuniary resource and unadided by a shilling from the purse or credit of the Complainant his pretended partner: that so situated he addressed the Parliament of Great Britain and procured certain Patents and exclusive rights to certain inventions of his own, among which was the steam invention for stemming currents recited in the first mentioned contract: and then as he ever after continued, equally unaided by the said Complainant he anxiously sought those pecuniary resources essential to the promotion of his schemes: that he negotiated with several mighty characters in the Kingdom and effectuated an agreement with a certain ——— Whiting a man in London of wealth an high responsibility: that under the auspices of the said Whiting and the flattering allurements of a brilliant prospect the scope of his action became more extensive and his engagements more serious: it was soon after agreed that a ship should be built and that the steam machine should be constructed with her, that the cost of the said ship separate from the constructing the machine was 600 guineas, for the whole of which sum the testator became liable: that shortly after Whiting became insolvent and he not having contributed a shilling towards the above expense the testator being wholly liable found himself surrounded by embarrassments pressed by creditors and at the door of a prison; which may more fully appear by other documents prayed to be taken as part of this Bill if possible to be produced: that under this predicament the testator eager to be relieved from his pressures contracted with a certain firm under the title of Rodgers & Parker, the tenor of which contract was that the said Rodgers and Parker were to receive two thirds of the product of the steam ship in consideration that they would advance 2000£ towit one thousand in cash and one thousand in goods but the whole amount to be 7500£ if the said ship should be compleated: that the Testator ever acting for the best received one thousand pounds in goods for the other thousand commuted for 800£ in cash: that Rodgers & Parker actually failed and became insolvent, so that the progress of the said ship was entirely impeded, and no other benefit ever received from the said house previous to said failure:

that the Testator accepted a draft on him drawn by a certain Benjamin Wynkoop for £1000, Treasurer of the Rumsian Society, and in London discharged the same in money, 800£ thereof being one of the above received sums and two hundred from his own stock: that just previous to the said payment the friends of the Testator reflecting on his situation furnished him on loan with certain sums for which he became responsible: that then one thousand pounds worth of goods were forwarded to Berkeley County in Virginia: that these goods were consigned to a certain Charles Morrow to be sold, which will appear more fully by Letters marked B. C. D. E. and F. and which last are prayed to be taken as part of this Answer. That about August or Sept. 1791 the Testator having found himself in debt to the amount of 1500£ sterling money to have been entirely connected with unfortunate and broken characters; burthened with the heaviest demands; struct with the horid picture of his affairs, seeing nothing before him but the walls of a prison or irretreivable disgrace, cast an anxious but desperate eye towards the several sources from which he had been taught to expect relief: the hand of the Complainant was not extended to his support, unaided by any connection in his own country, unsanctioned by residence or tried friendship in Europe; being blended in the deplorable fate and sharing the unstable credit of those with whom he had been contracted he thought, that the arm of providence alone could snatch him from certain ruin. But happily for him and those to whom he had become liable, he received an invitation to Ireland through the Earl Carhampton to render his assistance in projecting and cutting a Canal in that country, for which he received £10: ster^{g} per day, as will appear by Letter D: that he was employed either 40 or 60 days, the proceeds of which were applied to his previous incumbrances: that he afterwards not wishing to return to London went to Liverpool, whence he invented a certain Mill upon new principles, for one quarter part of which he received £750 ster^{g} which also was applied to the discharge of his previous debts, and then was priviledged to return to London; that while at London he continued prosecuting the steam ship under the direction of the trustees of Rodgers &

Parker who merely discharged the expenses of the said ship until his decease and from which at his decease he received no actual emolument; as will appear by Letter marked (H) and prayed to be taken as part of this Answer: that in about the 22d. of December 1792 the Testator died. This respondant being not in possession of other documents or accounts relative to the said Estate prays that if any should after come to hand they may be taken as part of this Answer. That true it is the deceadent left his Will and Testament in which he appointed the Respondant his Executor: that this Respond[t] hath taken upon himself the executorship of said Estate: that some time in the year 1793 this Respond[t] appointed a certain Joseph Barnes (now in Holland) his attorney to do and perform all matters and things relative to the said Estate in England: that the said Barnes went to England; acted as this Respond[t] believes in all respects for the best; that he enterred into an arbitrament: that an award therefrom took place, and that there by as well as from the statement of Barnes and this Respond[t]'s belief the said Testator was indebted on account of the said ship, the invention mentioned in the first contract referred to, the arbitrators not concurring the invention to be in that perfection called for by the agreement which said answer marked (G) this Respond[t] prays may be taken as part of this answer; and that the allegation of the Complainant that Barnes received 1000£ sent to the Rumsian Society this Respondant avers to be totaly groundless, as he knows of no money ever received by Barnes on account of his attorneyship as aforesaid or on any other account of the estate of the decedant: that this Respond[t] hath truly and faithfully conducted himself as Executor as aforesd: that the sum of £501: 9:1¾: came to his hands from the product of the remittance of goods as aforesaid to Charles Morrow: that since that time he hath settled with the county court of Berkley, with the said Estate as Executor as aforesaid that the estate was then found in his debt some where about one hundred pounds allowing as a debit against him the five hundred and one pounds, nine shillings and a penny ¾d as above and that not a shilling has in any shape otherwise been received of the said estate by this Respondant: and among other

credits allowed by the said court in this Respondants favor was the actual satisfaction of a Judgment obtained against the said Estate for the sum of about £200, which had been contracted by the testator in England towards the prosecution of the above mentioned steam ship. So that the Respondant is now confident in averring that he hath nothing of the estate at present in his hands: that the goods before referred to as having been transmitted to Morrow were not directed to be divided as the Complainants bill alledges; and that there were no orders as to the distribution of these goods or the product thereof to McMachen or any other person further than appears from the letter marked B: that true it is a draft was made by the defendant upon the said Wynkoop for £1000 treasurer of the Rumsian Society for the discharge of the decedants previous acceptance as above stated: that 600£ was to be disposed of to the society: and this and the rest appear by letter marked B: but none of this draft hath ever been received; the said Wynkoop having been insolvent; and this Respondant further states that the decedant received no proffit from any other invention within his Knowledge save the Mill before mentioned and the steam boat to which last the contract of the parties were confined.

So that now it appears may it please your honors that the decedant expended and became indebted for and discharged to the use of the steam boat invention above mentioned £1500—sterling money, equal to £2000 Virg^{a} currency 1000 curr^{y} of which according to the acknowledged contract became the debt of the Complainant: then as the £600 sterling equal to 800£ curr^{y} was advanced by the society for the joint benefit of the Comp^{t} and Testator, which never was refunded he the Compla^{t} became also indebted to the Testator other 400£ Va. currency, which added will make a debt due from the Complainant to the Respondant of 1400£ Va. currency. The whole of the proffits of the steam invention was £1800 sterling money equal to £2400 currency; of which the Complainant wanted to claim one fourth part towit 600£ currency, which deducted from the aforesaid debt of £1400 will in due submission leave the Complainant in debt to the Testator in the sum of £800 current money

of Virginia; But should this honorable court deem it consistent with equity, good faith and the contract, that the £1000 remitted to Wynkoop, having been lost after every diligence on the part of the Testator and this Respondant, which he now avers hath been used and that it never hath been received by the Testator to the use of the said contract; then the proportions to demand of the Complainant acting only on £1000 sterling would be but £250 sterling leaving according to the above submission a balance now due from the Complainant to the decedants estate of £1250 current money of Virginia.

And now this Defendant having amply responded to all the material allegations in the Complainants Bill contained, now utterly denying all fraud, guile, combination and collusion prays to be dismissed according to the rules of equity and with his proper cost and chas [?] in this behalf most unrightously expended.

Joh. Woodward Jr. Df

Monroe County towit

Personally appeared before me a Justice of the Peace for said county Edward Rumsey the Defendant within mentioned and made oath that allegations of the within Answer as far as respects his own Knowledge are true and as far as they relate to the Knowledge of others he believes to be true Given under my hand this 24th day of April in the year 1801.

James Alexander

(Backed) McMeechan vs. Rumsey } Ans

Answer: High Ct. Chancery
Edw[d] Rumsey Exr.
ads.
James McMachen
Woodward
May 27, 1801.

[EXHIBITS]

(A)

ARTICLES of agreement made and Concluded by and between James Rumsy of Berkley County & State of Virginia of the one part & James McMechan of the same place of the other part witnesseth that whereas they jointly have undertaken to prosecute their scheme for obtaining a premium on Exclusive Right for sd. Rumsey's Invention of Constructing a Boat to sail against Rapid Currents be it known and Remembered by these present that the Terms and Conditions of their Mutual agreement is as follows viz; that they the sd. James Rumsy & James McMechen shall & will Jointly and severally pursue with their utmost Diligence and attention every the most probable & successfull measures for obtaining eighther premiums or Exclusive Rights from the Several States of america or from the United States in Congress or from any other principality, State or kingdom in the Eastern world, at the Joint Expense of them the sd. Rumsy and McMechen their heirs &c. & that upon their obtaining the several premiums or exclusive Rights as the Case may be the mode proposed for Divition thereof shall & is hereby agreed to be that he the said James Rumsy his heirs &c. shall be Intitled to three fourths of the several premiums obtained & James McMechen the one fourth & three fourths of the profits of Exclusive Rights that may arise to James Rumsy & one fourth thereof to James McMechen his heirs &c. & furthermore it is hereby Covenanted & agreed that the mode of petitioning & addressing the several States in future for premiums or exclusive Rights shall be in the Name of James Rumsey his heirs &c. alone as the sole Inventor, & the end that all Difficulties & Disputes may be Removed relative to the Divition of the premiums arrising as they may be Recovered by Reason of the grant thereof being made to James Rumsy & his heirs alone it is hereby further Covenanted and agreed that James Rumsy shall & he is hereby bound in the penal sum of fifty thousand pounds Current money of Virginia as also his heirs, Exors. and admrs. to be recovered to the use of the sd. James McMechen his heirs &c. provided the

sd. Rumsey his heirs &c. shall refuse or neglect to Render up unto the sd. James McMechen his heirs &c. his moiety or one fourth part of the Several premiums as they may be recorded or Recovered from the Several States, by Reason of his Invention, to all which matters and things herein Containd the parties to these presents do hereby bind themselves each to the other their heirs, execut[r] & adm[rs] in the penall sum of one hundred thousand pounds Money of Virginia to be Recovered of the party Delinquent or that shall Refuse to Comply with the Terms and particulars of this article, and in Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals Interchangably this 10th day of November 1784.

James McMechen (seal)
James Rumsey (seal)

Test
Dabney Miller
Richard Curd
Richard Anderson Jr.

(Backed) Articles of agreement
Between
James McMechen
& James Rumsey
Nov[r] 1784.

McMechan
vs Articles
Rumsey

(B)

London April 15th 1792.

Dear Sir,

Near the end of November last I received your favor of the 14th July 1791, wherein you tell me that you had "received two

letters from me since I had left America" I believe that is all (before this) that I have written to you, and hope that you will not ascribe the smallness of the number to neglect, or want of friendship; as I can assure you that neither was the cause; But my having written frequently and, prety, fully to Capt. Morrow, respecting my preceedings here, with a request to communicate the same to you (among other friends) made me conclude it was unnecessary (to say nothing of the avertion I have [for wr]iteing one thing over and over again) to repeat the same to you and in this light (tho it is indirectly) I have written to you, as often as to any friend that I have.

Believe me that I am much and most Sincerely distressed by the account you give me of the disagreeable situation that you ware in when your letter was written; but I hope and believe that you had only taken a View of the dark Side of your Situation, & trust that the fear you expressed of things getting worse with you, was more Ideal than rail! I too often myself see danger through a magnifying glass, it is therefore that I am expermentally enabled, to Judge of your Situation by my own! you mention the £1000, worth of goods that I sent to Capt. Morrow, and the £100 stg. I alloted for you; It may therefore not be impropper to say Something respecting them least you (for want of more accurate information) should have some wrong impressions relative thereto; when I made the sail of the patents here, I was to receive £1000 in goods and £1000 in Cash, on finding that the latter was not easy to be come at , I (therefore) agreed to take £800 for it, in hand; you know how unfortunately the whole of that sum, fell into the hands of that scoundel, Wynkoop, who I then expected (as I had taken up his Bills that otherways must have been protested) would repay the whole £1000, which I directed to be disposed of as follows £600 Sterg. to the Society (which sum they had advanced to me) £100, to you £50 each to ned & my wife, and the remainer to Mr. Barnes the Villian paid none of [torn] therefore no more need be said respecting it, at present: The £1000 Ster^{g} worth of goods I sent to Capt. Morrow to be sold upon, and for, my own account; to indemnify me for the expences I had been at, an account of the business

here; which at that time (say nothing of my Servise) was upwards of £750 sterlg.!!! and now is more than double that Sum! all this over and above the £600. furnished me by the Society from which you may Judge (having had no resources) of the enormous Sum that I (constantly have and) now owe. View me thus loaded with debt, in a Strange Country, Conected with broken men; and pursueing projects, in the Success of which, but few believe. Compare this with your own Situation and bless yourself that you are yet Liveing in the peacefull shades of Berkley! tho on but a Scanty Subsistance. I have frequently been in the prisons here, on purpose to make them familiar to me! as I have long expected that one of them, must eventually become my abode; I will not discribe them to you; they are too horrid for your contemplation; if however you should dwell upon the Idea, conceive a man shut up with thousands of hardened & unhappy wretches, without the allowance of even bread and water to Subsist on! believe me this is Literally true! and to add to the horror, be assured that a man, the moment he is Locked up, is no more thought of, or sought after than if he was in his grave! Capt. Mor[row] will inform you with the success I have lately had with one of my new mills, which however has produced no pecuniary relieff, one of my partners being much worse than nothing (with respect to property) and the other scarcely never to be seen, is but cold comfort; after four years absence from home! the Business has for some time been totally at a stand; how it will end, to use Barnes' expression; "heaven only knows." I am determined however as soon as I possibly can, to bring the whole to an end; of some kind or other, as I find it impossible, any longer to proceed without better support; this you will Say is a hard lot; especially [torn] time when I have (according to my agreement) [torn] to me, more than £3000 sterlg. I have long since Intimated to Capt. Morrow to Let you have any money, or goods that you might stand in need of; which no doubt he will readily do; I therefore trust that you Cannot suffer while I am able to furnish you with that resource; which you very well know is all that I have in the world, and that it will ever give me pleasure to divide it with you, which I Cheerfully will Should

desperate events not deprive me of it. give my best respects to Mrs. McMechen and be assured that I remain your Sincere friend

James Rumsey

Doc[r] Jas. McMechen.

(Backed) Doc[tr] James McMechen
To the Care of Capt[n] Charles
Morrow, Shepherds Town,
Berckeley County,
Virginia.
Single sheet

[The following was written as a postscript.—*Editor.*]

London June the 29th 1792. The ship that I expected this Letter to have went by sailed without my knowledge and no other oppertunity offering till now the Letter was obliged to lay by. I have nothing new to add except that one of my partners has totally sank under the pressure of his affairs by which means it comes out that he has conveyed his third of the patent to his Creditors more than 16 months ago; the other will weather the storm I hope Soon he has already let me have much money as to releive [torn] from the danger of a jail and the pressure of my most hungry dunns but the business is still almost Stationary, but I hope some change (perhaps) for the better may yet take place; my news from Barnes is all bad, you shall [hear?] from me again soon. I am in good health and bad Spirits. tell my enquiring friends so. I am your friend J. Rumsey.

(C)

Philadelphia May 14th 1788.

D[r] Charles

In two hours time I shall be on board A Ship bound for London with a bill for two hundred pounds Sterling in my pocket and the best Letters that Philadelphia Can aford me Doctor Frank-

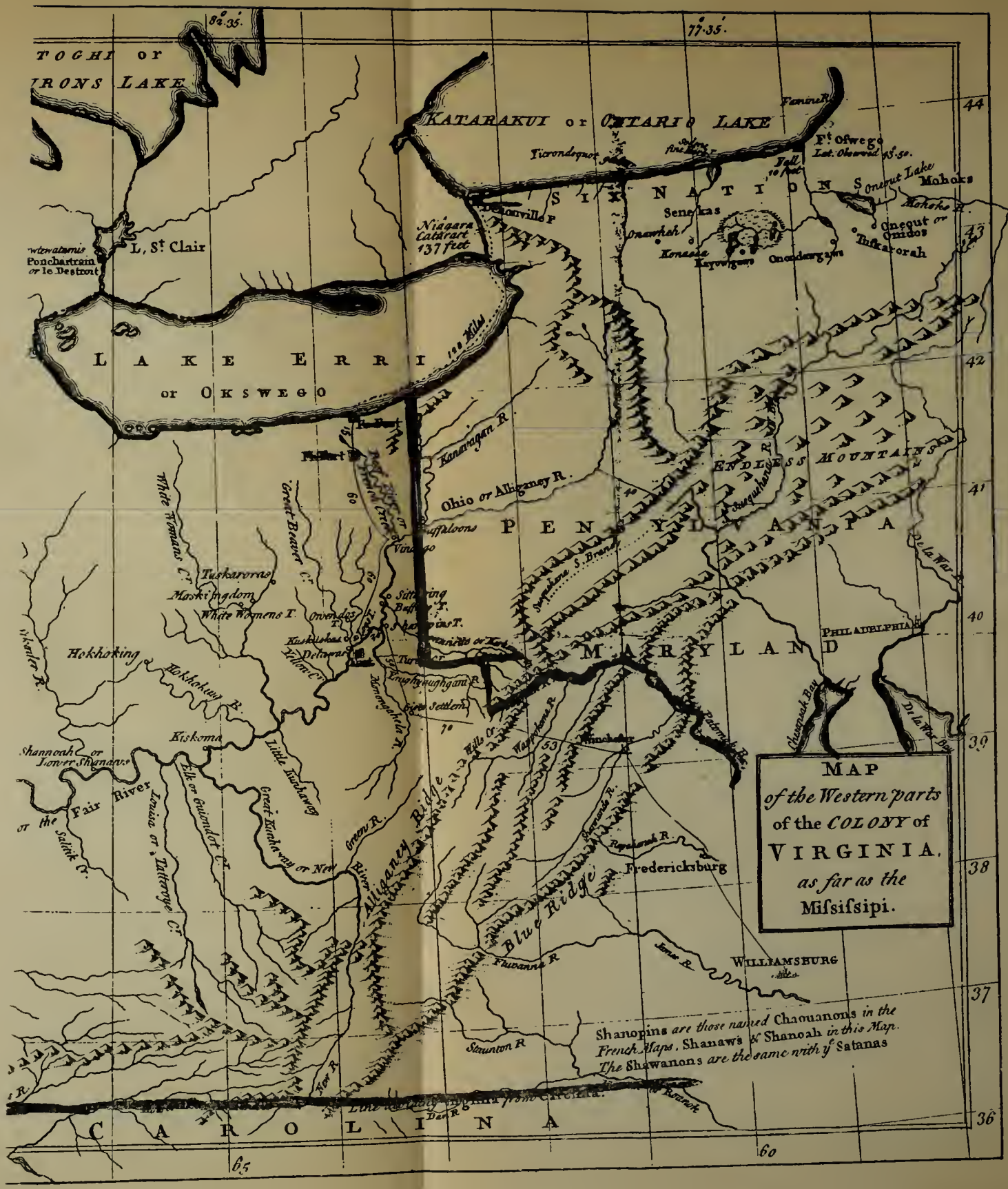
lin is now writing Letters for me and many other has wrote, at a meeting of Our Company on the 9th of May They proposed this plan and Did me the honor of Calling the Company The Rumseian Society. on the 13th Ins^{t}, was the Second Meeting when my going was Determined upon and the Gentlemen in Consequence of it very generously Consented to Cansel my proposials So far as they ware binding on me, and has Since procured the bills as an adetional Venture and are to Suport Joseph Barnes in the pursuit here on the Continant, I have Impowered you the Doct^{r} and him to act in my place while I am gone This Charles is my Meredian if I Do not Do sumthing now I am Done. It is Certain my prospects is flattering as these gentlemen that patronise me are Conspecious Characters. We Chose our officers in form a Gent^{r} William bingum [Bingham] Esqr was Chose president Mires Fisher Esqr Vice president Mr Joseph James Secretary and Bengaman Wynekoop Esqr treasurer. I Enclose you a Report of the Committee of the Society I beg Sir that you will Leave no Stone unturned to Detect fitch [John Fitch] in his Villianey you shall have one of his pamphlets Sent you as Soon as they Come out you Can then judge what Sort of proofs is wanten and Can forward them to Our Secretary & Committee of Correspondence which I had nearly forgot to mention Wm. Bartan Esqr is one of them and Mr. Levi Hollingsworth is another Bengaman Wynkoop Esqr acts as another the fourth I forgot write to any of them you think proper but Mr Wynekoop is the most active he has been propelled with great velocity through the streets for Several Days by the force of Steam alone.

Charles take [care] of my Child and of all the Little Business I Left with you I Can make no promises but I think I Shall not go to Europe for nothing if I donot you Shall be Remembered if Mr. Pages and Mr. Fitzhughs houses Can be Done by anymeans It will save me sum charector Remember me to polly tell her I Sincerely wish her all happyness and tell my Child to be good garl and Remind her that it is in part for her I toil Keep neddy with the Doct^{r} if posable or Sum other school I shall Endeavor to have him Sum Clothing got against winter and if nothing Else Can be Done Send him here to Joseph Barnes

I have Laid a train for him to finish his Studyes but it will be Expensive and therefore most be the Last Shift Excep[t]; my cir[cumstan]ces mend Remember Me to Dady [torn] and Charles, and to all my old friends and Neighbours

(Backed) McMechan
vs Letter
Rumsey
Capt. Charles Morrow
Berkeley County
Virginia.

(To be continued)


MAP
of the Western parts
of the COLONY of
VIRGINIA,
as far as the
Missisipi.
Shanopins are those named Chaouanons in the French Maps, Shanaws & Shanoah in this Map. The Shawanons are the same with ye Satanas
KATARAKUI or ONTARIO LAKE
SIX NATIONS
LAKE ERRI or OKSWEGO
L. St Clair
Ponchartrain or le Destroit
Niagara Cataract 137 feet
Ft Ofwego
Senekas
Onondagaws
Onnedagaws
Oneout Lake
Mohoks
Oneout or Onidos
Tuskarorah
Kanavagan R.
Ohio or Alliganey R.
Buffaloons
PENSYLVANIA
ENDLESS MOUNTAINS
MARYLAND
PHILADELPHIA
Chesapeak Bay
De la War Bay
Tuskaroras
Moskingdom
White Womens T.
Hokhoking
Kiskoma
Shannoah or Lower Shanaws
Fair River
Louisa or Tatteroye Cr.
Elk or Guiondot Cr.
Great Kunhaway or New River
Little Kunhaway
Green R.
Alliganey Ridge
Blue Ridge
Fredericksburg
WILLIAMSBURG
Staunton R.
Fluvanna R.
Rapahanoh R.
Patomah R.
Wapperkone R.
Winchester
Monongahela R.
Delaware
Kuskuskas
Sittaring
Buffalo T.
Shanopins T.
Susquehanna R.
Susquehanna S. Branch
Tuscarora
Great Beaver Cr.
White Womans Cr.
Kanawagan R.
Ohio or Alliganey R.
CAROLINA
Dan R.
Roanoke
Line of Virginia from Carolina.
82°35'
77°35'
44
43
42
41
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39
38
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36
65
60

WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH 1753-1754

By David I. Bushnell, Jr.

Introduction

Two documents of the greatest historical interest have recently been discovered among the manuscripts in the Virginia State Library, Richmond. Both belong to one of the most romantic periods of American history; the beginning of the French and Indian War, when the forces of France and those of Great Britain and her colonies, were to contend for possession of the territories beyond the mountains and the Ohio. The papers are among the most precious to be found in the archives of the States or nation, and are in a perfect state of preservation. To present a clear conception of the importance of the pieces it will be necessary to trace, though briefly, the events which led to their origin.[1]

The Documents

The beginning of the year 1753 found the French in possession of two vast domains in North America. To the northward was Canada, or New France, extending from the Atlantic westward for an unknown distance. Far to the south was Louisiana, bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. Of great

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[1] In the preparation of these notes three works have been consulted. (a) The Journal of Major George Washington . . . *"Williamsburgh* Printed, *London,* Reprinted for *T. Jeffreys,* the Corner of St. *Martin's Lane.* MDCCLIV." The London edition contained a map which did not appear in the original Williamsburg edition. A section of the map is reproduced in the present article. The Journal was reprinted in New York in 1865.

(b) Journal of Colonel George Washington, 1754. Albany, 1893.

(c) The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, 1883.

extent, but for the most part an unexplored wilderness, it included one of the most fertile sections of the great central valley of the continent. But between New France and Louisiana was a wide expanse of rich prairie land, claimed by the English, held and occupied by native tribes, and coveted by France to serve as a link between the two colonies.

Early in the spring of this year, 1753, an expedition was sent from Canada by Duquesne to take possession of the valley of the Ohio. The forces landed on the south shore of Lake Erie, at Presque Isle, the site of the present Erie, Pennsylvania, where a small fort was built. Soon they moved a short distance southward to the banks of French creek and here erected Fort LeBoeuf, on a spot now covered by Waterford, Erie County. The commander, Marin, sickened and died, and the troops became greatly weakened through fatigue and exposure. Early in December the newly appointed commander, Legardeur de Saint Pierre, arrived at Fort LeBoeuf to assume charge of the expedition.

Rumors of the impending French invasion of lands claimed by Virginia reached the colonists, and word of the coming of the French had been carried to Williamsburg in an incredibly short time after the landing of forces on the shore of Lake Erie. The summer passed with no action by the English, but by mid-autumn Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, desired to communicate with the leader of the French forces. He prepared a letter and intrusted it to Major George Washington, then a young man of twenty-one, to carry to that officer:

> Sir,
>
> The Lands upon the River *Ohio,* in the Western Parts of the Colony of *Virginia,* are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of *Great-Britain;* that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprize to me, to hear that a Body of *French* Forces are erecting Fortresses, and making Settlements upon that River, within his Majesty's Dominions.
>
> The many and repeated Complaints I have received of these Acts of Hostility, lay me under the Necessity, of

sending, in the Name of the King my Master, the Bearer hereof, *George Washington,* Esq; one of the Adjutants General of the Forces of this Dominion; to complain to you of the Encroachments thus made, and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of *Great-Britain,* in open Violation of the Law of Nations, and the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns. If these facts are true, and you shall think fit to justify your Proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me, by whose Authority and Instructions you have lately marched from *Canada,* with an armed Force; and invaded the King of *Great-Britain's* Territories, in the Manner complained of? that according to the Purport and Resolution of your Answer, I may act agreeably to the Commission I am honoured with, from the King my Master.

However Sir, in Obedience to my Instruction, it becomes my Duty to require your peaceable Departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a Purpose so interruptive of the Harmony and good Understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King.

I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major *Washington* with the Candour and Politeness natural to your Nation; and it will give me the greatest Satisfaction, if you return him with an Answer suitable to my Wishes for a very long and lasting Peace between us. I have the Honour to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

Robert Dinwiddie.

Williamsburgh, in *Virginia,*
October 31st 1753

Washington's report of the journey was presented to the Governor in the form of a journal. It was printed in Williams-

burg a few days after his return and copies were sent to the governors of all the British colonies. The Journal is brief, but clear, and refers to the more important happenings:

> *Wednesday, October* 31st 1753.
>
> I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie,* Esq; Governor, &c. of *Virginia,* to visit and deliver a Letter to the Commandant of the *French* Forces on the *Ohio,* and set out on the intended Journey the same Day: The next, I arrived at *Fredericksburg,* and engaged Mr *Jacob Vanbraam,* to be my *French* Interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria,* where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester,* and got Baggage, Horses, &c. and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek,* where we arrived the 14th of *November* . . .

As a result of "excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps," and several stops made for the purpose of communicating with the Indians, Washington did not arrive at Fort LeBoeuf until the eleventh of December. On the following day he entered in his journal:

> I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Business, and offered my Commission and Letter . . . This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis,* and named *Legardeur de St. Piere.* He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was sent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me . . .
>
> December 14th . . . This Evening I received an Answer to his Honour the Governor's Letter from the Commandant.

Washington remained at Fort LeBoeuf five days, and on December 16 began his return journey to Williamsburg. The trails through the vast wilderness were covered with ice and snow, the cold was intense, and great difficulty was encountered in crossing the swollen streams. The horses became weakened and tended to retard rather than advance the progress of the small party. Thus on December 26 he wrote in his journal:

> The Horses grew less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneasy to get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the woods, on Foot. Accordingly I left Mr. *Vanbraam* in Charge of our Baggage; with Money and Directions, to provide Necessaries from Place to Place for themselves and Horses, and to make the most convenient Dipatch in Travelling.
>
> I took my necessary Papers; pulled-off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr *Gist,* fitted in the same manner, on *Wednesday* the 26th.

One month was required to make the journey from Fort LeBoeuf to Williamsburg, arriving there on January 16, 1754:

> When I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the *French* Commandant; and to give an Account of the Success of my Proceedings . . .

This letter, given to Washington by the French officer at Fort LeBoeuf December 14, 1753, carried by him to Williamsburg and delivered January 16, 1754, to Governor Dinwiddie, is the first of the two important documents recently discovered in the Virginia State Library. The original French text is now, for the first time, printed:

Monsieur:

Comme jay l'honneur de commandre icy en chef, Monsieur Washington ma remis la lettre que vous ecriviez au commandant des trouppes francaises.

J'aurais etè charmè que vous luy eussiez donnè ordre, ou qu'il ent etè disposè a se rendre en Canada pour voir Monsieur notre General an qud il appartient mieux que moy de mettre au jour l'evidence, et la realitè des droits du Roy mon maitre sur les terres Scituès le long de la belle Riviere, et de contester les pretentions du Roy de la grande Bretagne a cet egard.

Je vais adresser votre lettre a Monsieur Le Marquis Duquesne. Sa reponse me servira de toy, et s'il m'ordonne de vous la communiquer, Monsieur, je puis vous assures que je ne negligeray rien pour vous la faire tenir tres promptement.

Quand a la Sommation que vous me faitte de me retirer; je ne me crois pas dans l'obligation de m'y rendre: quelques que puissent estre vos instructions, je suis icy en vertu des ordres de mon general, et je vous prie Monsieur de ne pas doutter un instant que je suis dans la constante resolution de m'y conformer avec toute L'exactitude, et la fermetè que l'on peut attendre du meilleur officier. J'ignore que dans le cours de cette campagne il se soit rien passè qui puisse estre reputè pour acte d'hostilitè, ny que soit contraire aux traites que subsistent entre les leux couronnes, dont la Continuation nous interesse, et nous flatte autant que Messieurs les Anglois. S'il vous ent etè agreable Monsieur d'en venir sur ce point a un detail particulier des faits qui motivent votre plainte, J'aurois en l'honneur de vous repondre de la facon la plus positive, et je suis persuadè que vous auries en lieu d'estre satisfait.

Je me suis fait un devoir particulier de Recevoir Monsieur Washington avec la distinction que convient a votre dignotè, a sa qualitè, et a son grand meritè; je puis me

flatter qu'il me rendra cette justice aupres de vous Monsieur et qu'il vous fera connoitre ainsi que moy le respect profond avec lequel je suis

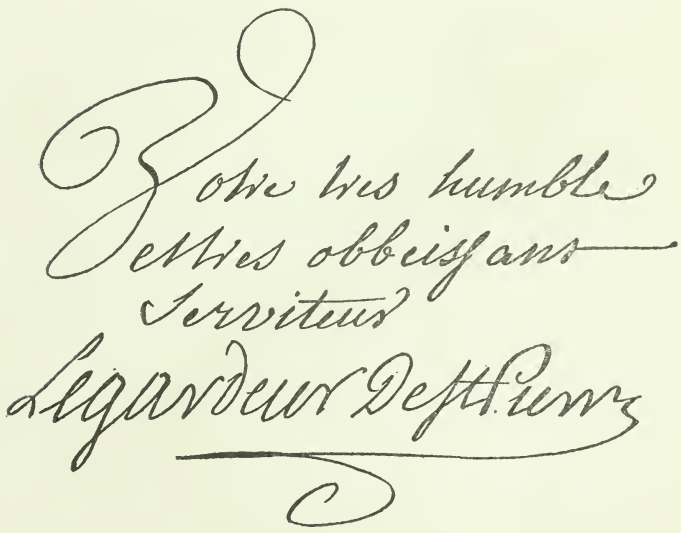
Monsieur

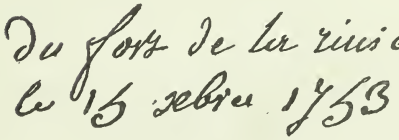
Votre tres humble

et tres obbeissant Serviteur

Legardeur De St Pierre

du fort de la
riviere au beuf.
le 15 Xbre. 1753





A translation of the letter was included in the printed Journal, and is given below:

Sir:

As I have the Honour of commanding here in Chief, Mr Washington delivered me the Letter which you wrote to the Commandant of the French Troops.

I should have been glad that you had given him Orders, or that he had been inclined to proceed to Canada, to see our General; to whom it better belongs than to me to set-forth the Evidence and Reality of the Rights of the King, my Master, upon the Lands situated along the River Ohio, and to contest the Pretensions of the King of Great-Britain thereto.

I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis *Duquisne*. His Answer will be a Law to me; and if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it to you forthwith.

As to the Summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your Instructions, I am here by Virtue of the Orders of my General; and I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but that I am determin'd to conform myself to them with all the Exactness and Resolution which can be expected from the best Officer.

I don't know that in the Progress of this Campaign any Thing has passed which can be reputed an Act of Hostility, or that is contrary to the Treaties which subsist between the two Crowns; the Continuation whereof as much interests, and is as pleasing to us, as the *English*. Had you been pleases, Sir, to have descended to particularize the Facts which occasioned your Complaint, I should have had the Honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, most satisfactory Manner.

I made it my particular Care to receive Mr. *Washington,* with a Distinction suitable to your Dignity, as well as

his own Quality and great Merit. I flatter myself that he will do me this Justice before you, Sir; and that he will signify to you in the Manner I do myself, the profound Respect with which I am

SIR,

Your most humble, and
most obedient Servant
Legardeur de St. Piere.

From the Fort sur
La Riviere au Beuf,
the 15*th of* December 1753

Soon after Washington's return to Williamsburg, on January 16, 1754, Dinwiddie wrote to Lord Fairfax and said in part:

> As the French Forces on the Ohio intend down as far as Logstown, early in the Spring, I think it is for His M'y's Service and the Protection of the Settlem'ts of this Dom'n to do all in our Power to prevent their building any Forts or making any Settlem'ts on that river, and more particularly so nigh us as that of the Logstown. I therefore, with Advise of the Council, think proper to send immediately out 200 Men to protect those already sent by the Ohio Comp'a to build a Fort, and to resist any Attempts on them. I have Commission'd Major George Washington, the bearer hereof, to command 100 Men to be rais'd in Frederick County and Augusta . . .

About this time the Governor's instructions were delivered to Washington and as they show so clearly the difficulties met with in arranging for an expedition to the Ohio, they are quoted in full:

> *Instruct's to be observ'd by Maj'r Geo. Washington, on the Expedit'n to the Ohio.*

Maj'r Geo. Washington:

You are forthwith to repair to the Co'ty of Frederick and there to take under Y'r Com'd 50 Men of the Militia who will be deliver'd to You by the Comd'r of the s'd Co'ty pursuant to my Orders. You are to send Y'r Lieut. at the same Time to the Co'ty of Augusta, to receive 50 Men from the Comd'r of that Co'ty as I have order'd and with them he is to join You at Alexandria, to which Place You are to proceed as soon as You have rec'd the Men from Frederick. Having rec'd the Detachm't, You are to train and discipline them in the best Manner You can, and for all Necessaries You are to apply Y'rself to Mr. Jno. Carlisle at Alex'a who has my orders to supply You. Having all Things in readiness You are to use all Expedition in proceeding to the Fork of Ohio with the Men under Com'd and there you are to finish and compleat in the best Manner and as soon as You possibly can, the Fort w'ch I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Comp'a. You are to act on the Defensive, but in Case any Attempts are made to obstruct the Works or interrupt our Settlem'ts by any Persons whatsoever You are to restrain all such Offenders, and in Case of resistance to make Prisoners of or kill and destroy them. For the rest You are to conduct Y'rself as the Cirsumst's of the Service shall require and to act as You shall find best for the Furtherance of His M'y's Service and the Good of His Dom'n. Wishing You Health and Success I bid You Farewell

The Burgesses met February 14, 1754, and nine days later, on February 23, Dinwiddie wrote to Governor DeLancey of New York:

I prorogu'd our Assembly this day; they have voted £10,000 for Supporting the British Int't against the Invasions of the French, &c. In consequence thereof I shall imediately endeavour to raise 6 Compa's of Men to march directly to Wills's Creek, the head of the Patowmack River . . .

The expedition started from Alexandria at noon, Tuesday, April 2, 1754, Colonel Joshua Fry, the commander of the expedition, died at, or near Wills' Creek May 31, and as a consequence the entire responsibility rested upon Washington, but he had, from the beginning, been the active head of the venture. Progress through the forests was slow and difficult and often the forces were unable to advance more than two or three miles a day. The first encounter with the French troops occurred on the morning of May 28, 1754. On the following day Washington wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, dating the letter "From our Camp at the Great Meadows," and related the events attending the battle with the French. The letter, or more correctly report, is quite lengthy, and from it the following quotations are made:

> When we came to the Half-King, I council'd with him, and got his assent to go hand in hand and strike the French. Accordingly, himself, Monacatoocha and a few other Indians set out with us, and when we came to the place where the Tracts were, the Half-King sent two Indians to follow their Tract and discover their lodgment, which they did ab't a half mile from the Road, in a very obscure place surrounded with Rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacatoocha, form'd a disposion to attack y'm on all sides, which we accordingly did, and after an Engagement of ab't 15 Minutes, we killed 10, wounded one and took 21 Prisoners, amongst those that were killed, was Monsieur De Jumonville, the Commander; Princip'l Officers taken is Monsieur Druillorn and Mons'r Laforce, who your Honour has often heard me speak of as a bold Enterprising Man, and a person of great subtility and cunning; with these are two Cadets. These officers pretend they were coming on an Embassay, but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring as your Honour will see by the Instructions and Summons inclos'd . . . The Summons is so insolent and savours so much of Gascoigny that if two Men only had come openly to deliver it, It was too great Indulgence to have sent them back . . .

This Summons, the original document taken from the body of the French officer De Jumonville, May 28, 1754, and sent by

Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, is the second of the two historic papers recently found in the Virginia State Library, Richmond. The original text is given below:

Sommation que fera le 3[d] De Jumonville Officier Des Troupes Du Roy tres Chretien, au Commandant de troupes Anglaises si il en trouve sur les terres du Domaine du Roy. . . .

Monsieur

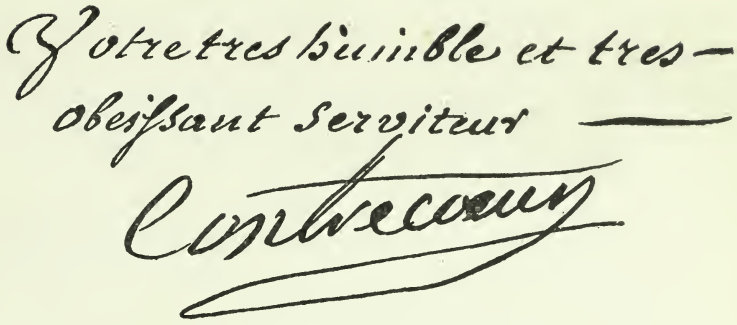
Il m'est de'ja revenu par la voye des sauvages que vous venies armè et a forces ouvertes sur les terres du Roy mon maitre, sans toutes fois pouvoir le crocre, mais ne devant rien negliger pour en etrè informè aujuste, je detache le 3[d] De Jumonville pour le voir par lujmeme, et en cas qu'il vous y trouve, vous sommer De La part Du Roy, en vertu des ordres que j'en ay de mon Gènèral de vous retirer paisiblement avec votre troupe, sans quoy Monsieur, vous m'obligeries a vous y contraindre par toutes les voyes que je regarderois les plus efficaces pour l'honneur des Armes Du Roy; la rente des terres De La Belle Riviere par les Sauvages vous est un si foible titre, que ne pourray m'empecher Monsieur, de repousser la force par la force.

Je vous previens que si apres cette sommation qui sera la derniere que je vous feray faire, il arrive quelque acte d'ostilite que ce fera a vous d'en Repondre puis que notre intention est de maintenir l'union qui Regne entre deux Princes amis.

tels que soyent vos projets, Monsieur, je me flatte que vous aurès pour M De Jumonville tous les regards que merite cet officier, et que vous me le Renverres sur le Champ pour m'informer de vos intentions.

Je suis en attendant avec Respect
Monsieur
Votre tres humble et tres
obeissant Serviteur
Contrecoeur

fait au Camp du fort
Du Quesne le 23e May 1754:



Votre tres humble et tres-
obeissant Serviteur
Contrecoeur

Fait au Camp du fort
Du Quesne le 23e May 1754.

Which may be translated thus:

Summons, which De Jumonville, 3rd Officer in command of the troops of the very Christian King, will send to the Commander of the English troops, provided he shall find any on the King's domains.

Sir:—

It has come to my knowledge, through the report of the Savages, that you have come with armed forces into the territory of the King, my master; not being able to believe it, but deeming it my duty to neglect nothing by means of which I may gain definite information, I am detaching De Jumonville 3rd, to see for himself, and if he does find you there, to summon you in the name of the King; in virtue of the orders which I have from my General, to retire peaceably with your troops, in default of which Sir, you will oblige me to enforce my orders by any means that I may consider necessary to uphold the honor of the Royal Arms.

The occupation of the lands of *La Belle Riviere* by the savages is so weak a claim that I would be compelled to

meet force with force. I warn you that if, after this summons, which will be the last that I shall send you, there should be any act of hostility, you will have to answer for it, as it is our intention to maintain the alliance which exists between two friendly Princes.

Whatever your plan of action may be, Sir, I feel sure that you will extend such courtesy to M. DeJumonville, as such an Officer deserves, and that you will send him back at once to inform me of your intentions.

I am meanwhile, respectfully
Sir
Your most humble and
obedient Servant
Contrecoeur

Done at the Camp du
fort Du Quesne, 23[d] May *1754*

As has been mentioned above, Washington forwarded the Summons to Governor Dinwiddie with a letter dated *From our Camp at the Great Meadows, 29th of May, 1754.* It reached the Governor while he was at Winchester on a mission to the Indians. The document was regarded as of great importance, and copies were made and sent away. On June 18, 1754, Dinwiddie wrote to the Lords of Trade describing the events of the past months. He referred to the encounter between the French under De Jumonville, and the Virginians, and alluding to the former said: "They pretended they were coming Embassadors to our Camp; the contrary thereof, Y'r L'd's will observe by the enclosed Copy of their Instruct's and Sumons."

That two documents of such great historical interest, papers so intimately associated with Washington during the days he was being trained for greater deeds, should have escaped destruction these many years, is gratifying to all who are interested in the history of Virginia and of the Nation. And they serve to connect the present with the past: with the days when Virginia was the richest and the most influential of the British Colonies in North America.

THE DOWNINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

By MRS. O. A. KEACH, Wichita, Kansas.

1. Capt. William Downing is mentioned in the Northumberland County Records on January 20, 1655, when John Edwards assigned his interest in a patent for land to the said Downing.

On January 27, 1668, "William Downing of Great Wicocomoco river, planter," deeded property to his children as follows: To his eldest son, William, and to his son, John, 600 acres of land up the north side of horse-path and bounding east upon Wm. Wildy and west upon Richard Nelms. Two cows to (name indecipherable), to his daughter, Mary Downing, one cow. Witness, William Jones.

About this time Capt. Downing married Margaret ————, 1679, June 7. The Court ordered that provisions for all Wicomico parish, levied for the Potomac Fort be delivered at the house of Capt. William Downing, Sr.

On the same day Capt. Downing was sworn a Justice of the Court. This office he held until the time of his death in 1683. Capt. Downing's will was dated February 9, 1682, and was probated by Mrs. Margaret Downing, his executrix, in September or October, 1683, but was burned in 1710. His children were: 2 William, 3 John, 4 Thomas, 5 Mary, 6 Probably a daughter, and by second marriage, 7 Charles.

Mrs. Margaret Downing, widow of Capt. Downing, married second, Mr. Edward Typton and had son Joseph Typton.

In 1684, March 19, Mr. Edward Typton who married Mrs. Margaret Downing, executrix of Mr. William Downing, was ordered by the Court to pay bills of exchange drawn on Mr. Edward Jones, merchant, of Bristol, England.

On November 19, 1684, John Downing as attorney of Mr. Samuel Typton, merchant in Bristol brought suit against James Jones. In passing it may be said that the Northumberland County records show many dealings between the colonists of this county and the merchants of Bristol.

2. William Downing, Jr., married Mary as she is mentioned as his relict in the Court records June, 1683. His place of residence is shown in a record of June 7, 1679, when the Court ordered that a part of the provisions due from Fairfield parish for the Potomac Fort be delivered at the house of William Downing, Jr.

His children were: 8 Elizabeth, 9 Ann and 10 Margery.

8. Elizabeth Downing, daughter to William was born December 30, 1670. (St. Stephen's parish records.)

10. Margery Downing married Joseph Hudnall whose will is dated July 9, 1709 and probated August 18, 1709.

He names his wife Margery and his four children, 11 John, 12 Joseph, 13 Ann and 14 Mary.

On December 21, 1709, Margery Hudnall, widow, made a trust deed to Samuel Blackwell for the benefit of her children, John, Joseph, Ann and Mary Hudnall.

Some time before March 20, 1710, Mrs. Hudnall married Samuel Blackwell as the record book for that date furnishes the following interesting history of the second William Downing's line:

Samuel Blackwell of the Parish of St. Stephens and Margery, his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of William Downing, decd., who was the son of William Downing, also decd., to Samuel Blackwell Jr. for land left by will of William Downing (the elder and grandfather of said Margery) to Thos. Downing (son) part of the land I now dwell upon—said land after the decease of said Thomas Downing to fall into the hands of Wm. Hughlett—to and for the use of the said Saml. Blackwell and Margery, his wife, and at their death for the use of Samuel Blackwell, Jr. (It is evident that Samuel Blackwell, Jr., was a stepson of Margery Blackwell.)

1712 July 26. Richard Nutt and 10 Anne, his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of William Downing Jr., decd., deed to Samuel Blackwell of St. Stephens parish. The above named William Downing Jr. by will dated September 3rd, 1682, did devise unto *Chas. Downing,* youngest son of testator's father

William Downing, and to Margery Downing, the testator's youngest daughter, his tract of land that he lived on, admitting only an estate for life in said land, and Charles Downing dying before any division, made his right come legally vested in the survivor and after death of said Margery, descends to nearest of kin to the Donor, the said testator, and whereas the said testator left three daughters only, Anne, Elizabeth and the said Margery. The said Anne hath in reversion an estate in fee in the said devised land being 788 acres (more or less) now in possession of Samuel Blackwell and Margery, his wife.

1712, Oct. 20. William Smith and Elizabeth, his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Wm. Downing, Jr., deed to Samuel Blackwell of St. Stephen's parish for 788 acres of land, more or less now in possession of Samuel Blackwell and his wife.

1725, Oct 18. Samuel Blackwell and Margery, his wife, one of the daughters of William Downing Jr. and grand-daughter of Wm. Downing, decd., deed to Wm. Jones of Wicomico parish, witnesseth that whereas Wm. Downing, decd., by will bearing date February 1682, did give unto his son, Thos. Downing, his tract of land he lived on in Wicomico parish—thereby admitting only an estate for life and after said Thos. Downing's death, it was determined by Northumberland County Court that the right of the aforesaid land did revert and become legally vested in the coheirs of Wm. Downing Jr., viz: Anne, Elizabeth and aforesaid Margery.

These records establish the identity of the children of William Downing Jr., beyond a question as follows: 8 Elizabeth, married William Smith, 9 Anne, married Richard Nutt; and 10 Margery, married, first, Joseph Hudnall and second, Samuel Blackwell.

The record of 3 John Downing, second son of Capt. William Downing, the progenitor of all bearing that name in Northumberland County, will be given later in a separate paper.

4. Thomas Downing, third son of Capt. Downing, married ————. His children were: 15 Patience, 16 Margaret and 17 Thomas, mentioned as the orphans of Thomas Downing on page 432 of the Order Book, 1678-1698.

15. Patience Downing married Daniel Neale, the 2nd, son of Daniel Neale, the 1st. Daniel Neale, the 2nd, children by his first marriage with Elizabeth Holland were: Lucretia, born September 5, 1680, who married John Cottrell; Daniel b. May 29, 1677; William, born July 1, 168—; Hannah, born July 12, 1684; who married John Haynie and others. The will of Daniel Neale, 3rd, dated November 4, 1700, names youngest brother, Ebenezer; sister, Hannah Neale; brother-in-law, John Cotrell; Niece, Elizabeth Cotrell; mother-in-law, (step-mother) Mrs. Patience Neale. The rest of estate to be divided between his own brothers and sisters. Cousin Christo. Neale, executor. Mention of Mrs. Patience (Downing) Neale's children will be made later.

16. Margaret Downing married ———— James. Her will, dated January 4, 1723, probated January 15, 1724, mentions her daughter, 17 Margaret James, and her sons, 18 Moses, 19 Charles, 20 George, 21 Thomas, 22 William James was legatee of Thomas Downing, probably receiving the greater part of his estate.

Then the children of Margaret James were: William, Moses, Charles, Thomas, George and Margaret.

17. Thomas Downing (Thos.[2] Capt. William[1]) was one of the executors of the will of Joseph Palmer which was probated June 21, 1704.

On Nov. 17, 1708, Thomas Downing was appointed by the Court, Constable for the upper precincts of Wicomico parish. 1710, June 13. Thomas Downing of Wicomico parish, planter, made a deed for 60 acres to Alice Palmer on south side of Great Wicomico river, part of a patent for 216 acres granted by deed from the Proprietor's office in 1704 to said Downing. 1720, May 18 he made a deed to John Champion for 112 acres on south side of Great Wicomico river, being part of 220 acres formerly in possession of George Downing, late decd.

The will of Thomas Downing, dated February 1, 1722, probated February 21, 1722, gives his whole estate to his sister, Margaret James and her children. He mentions, "my sister, Margaret James, cousins (nephews) William and Moses James. To Chas. James. To George James."

It is possible that George Downing, decd., mentioned above, was his son but it is evident that Thomas Downing died without issue. Thus the records prove that the only male descendant of Capt. William Downing in the third generation were the sons of John Downing.

POPE ANCESTRY

(Compiled from "Col. Nathaniel Pope and his Descendants," by Rev. G. W. Beale, D. D., in QUARTERLY, XII, 192-196, and memoranda furnished by P. P. Dabney, Portland, Oregon, from the Family Bible of Capt. William Pope, of "Montpelier," Powhatan County, Virginia.)

FIRST GENERATION

Nathaniel Pope, first settler, came from England, settled in Maryland about 1637; removed to Virginia in 1650, commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Westmoreland Troops, April 4, 1655; will dated May 16, 1659; probated April 26, 1660. He married Lucy ————. (named in his will "Luce.") Issue: Thomas, *Nathaniel,* Anne, who married Col. John Washington, Margaret, who married William Hardwich.

SECOND GENERATION

Nathaniel Pope, second son of Col. Nathaniel Pope; obtained patent for land on Hollis Creek in 1661, and transferred it to John Watts in 1665; married Mary Sisson (sister to Daniel Sisson, interpreter for the Indians) and, dying early without will, left an only son *Nathaniel Pope.* Mary Sisson married 2dly ———— Bridges, and becoming a widow again married 3rdly Lewis Nicholas, by whom she had a son Lewis. Having been widowed the third time, she married as her fourth husband, David Whitliffe or Wickliffe, the first Protestant born in the Province of Maryland. By him she had two sons and a daughter, named David, Robert, and Deborah Wickliffe.

THIRD GENERATION

Nathaniel Pope, called in the records Nathaniel, "alias Bridges," because of his mother's second marriage, was a Practitioner of Law, King's Attorney for Westmoreland County, clerk

of Stafford County &c. He died in 1719. Married Jane, daughter of Original and Jane (Brooks) Brown and had issue: William, Mary, Lewis, *John,* Jane, Worden, Elizabeth.

Fourth Generation

John Pope, married his cousin Elizabeth Pope, only daughter and heiress of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Peirce) Pope. This Nathaniel Pope was the son of Thomas Pope and Joanna his wife, and Thomas Pope was the eldest son of Col. Nathaniel Pope, of the first generation. Elizabeth (Peirce) Pope was a daughter of Col. William Peirce and Sarah Underwood his wife. Col. William Pierce was, it is believed, a son of Capt. William Pierce, who sailed with Governor Gates from England in 1609, was captain of the Fort at Jamestown and was for many years one of the Council of State. Sarah Underwood was a daughter of William Underwood, of Rappahannock County (Quarterly, X., 276). John Pope and Elizabeth Pope his wife had issue: *Nathaniel,* John, Henry, William. After John Pope's death his widow married William Wroe.

Fifth Generation

Nathaniel Pope, born in 1729. A deed dated May 20, 1753, made by him and recorded in King George County, Virginia, recites that he was the son of John Pope, and grandson of Nathaniel Pope. He removed to Louisa County where he married Lucy S. Fox, and reared a large family. He died at "Montpelier" Plantation, the home of his son, Capt. William Pope, in Powhatan County, Virginia, November 21, 1806. His wife, Lucy, died July 21, 1789, and both were buried in Louisa County, near the crossing of Thompson and Louisa roads. Their graves are marked by Stones erected and inscribed by their son Capt. *William Pope.*

Nathaniel Pope and Lucy S. Fox, his wife, had eight children (order of births not known), viz.:

(1) *William Pope,* generation No. 6 in these notes.

(2) John Pope who settled in Georgia and from whom were

descended U. S. Senator Pope Barrow of Georgia and Leroy Pope Walker, Secretary of War, *C. S. A.*

(3) Col. Nathaniel Pope, killed in duel with ——— Richardson at Taylorsville, Virginia. (See preface to Wirt, *Life of Patrick Henry*). He married his cousin ——— Duval, daughter of Col. William Duval, and had children, viz.: John Pope, of Fauquier County, Virginia; Charles F. Pope, of Goochland County, Virginia; William D. Pope, of Port Royal, Virginia, Catharine, who married Thomas C. Howard, of Richmond, Virginia.

(4) Lucetta, who married Col. Bell and moved to Kentucky and was grandmother of Gen. S. B. Maxey, United States Senator from Texas.

(5) A daughter, ———, who married Gov. Greenup, of Kentucky.

(6) A daughter, ———, who married William Duval and had a son William Pope Duval, first Governor of Florida, and sketched by Washington Irving under the name of "Ralph Ringwood."

(7) A daughter, ———, who married ——— Hunter and settled in Kentucky.

(8) Percy Smith Pope, captain in United States Army, served in Indian Wars in the south and died of yellow fever at Natchez, Mississippi, a bachelor.

SIXTH GENERATION

6. William Pope, known as Captain William Pope, born in Louisa County, Virginia, 23 October, 1762, died at his home "Montpelier" in Powhatan County, Virginia, 19 July, 1852. Was Commonwealth's Attorney of Powhatan County. Served in Revolutionary War and in War of 1812. Married Ann Woodson, daughter of Charles Woodson, Jr., and his wife, Nancy, nee Trotter. Had only one child *Lucy Ann,* born 21 May, 1793. Captain William Pope, his wife Ann Woodson, his daughter Lucy Ann and her husband, Robert Kelso Dabney, were all buried at "Montpelier," Powhatan County, Virginia. St. Memin profile

portraits of Captain Pope and his wife Ann and his daughter Lucy Ann are now in the possession of Percy Pope Dabney, of Portland, Oregon. Captain Pope was fond of literature, was a good story teller, and a correspondent and friend of William Wirt.[1]

The following is a copy of resolutions adopted by the County Court of Powhatan County, Virginia, on August 5, 1852, in memory of Captain William Pope:

"A Preamble and Resolutions adopted by a meeting of the members of the Court and its officers and the members of the Bar and other citizens of the County this day held in Testimony of their respect for the memory of Captain William Pope for many years a practitioner at the bar of this court and one of its officers were presented in court and ordered to be recorded and are in these words, to-wit:

"Whereas Captain William Pope, for many years a practitioner at the bar of this court and late the Prosecuting Attorney for the Commonwealth therein, the accomplished gentleman, the faithful friend, the devoted patriot, the social companion, the classic scholar and the pure philanthropist, the man of high toned honor, humanity, generosity and benevolence, departed this life at Montpelier, his residence in this County, on the 19th day of July, 1852, in the 90th year of his age.

"Be it therefore resolved that as a token of our grief for the loss and respect for the memory of our departed friend and beloved companion, William Pope, Esq., we will wear the usual, badge of mourning for thirty days.

"Whereupon the court doth order that one copy of the Preamble and Resolutions be sent by the clerk of this court to the family of the deceased and that another copy be forwarded to the Editors of the Richmond Newspapers with a request that it be published in their respective papers."

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[1] See Kennedy's *Life of William Wirt.*

SEVENTH GENERATION

7. Lucy Ann Pope, born 21 May, 1793, married Robert Kelso Dabney 24 January, 1827, died 21 March, 1834, and was buried at "Montpelier," Powhatan County, Virginia. Had three children, Charles, who died in infancy, William Pope Dabney and Robert Kelso Dabney. William Pope Dabney was judge of Powhatan and Cumberland Counties; was born at "Montpelier," Powhatan County, 17 July, 1829, married Leila Madison, of Orange County, and died March 5, 1894. Had eight children, among whom is Percy Pope Dabney, now of Portland, Oregon, Robert Kelso Dabney, married Nannie Marye, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and after the war moved to Sewanee, Tennessee, where he was professor of Metaphysics and died there in 1876, leaving a large family, only two of whom are now living.

NOTES ON COLE-SCASBROOK-WILLS.[1]

From a privately printed publication (1870) containing the genealogy of the Coles of Enniskillen, (compiled in 1630 by Sir William Segar) County Firmanagh, Ireland, it is shown that Sir William Cole, Captain of the Castle of Enniskillen, was lineally descended from the Coles of Devon and Cornwall. This pedigree states that Emmanuel Cole, father of Sir William Cole, living in 1630, was brother of William Cole, of London, who was son and heir of Thomas Cole of London. This William Cole married Ann (died 1598) eldest daughter of Michael Colles, of Bradwell, County Bucks, and had issue with other children William Cole, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Deards of London, and they had issue Arthur, William, Michael, *Humphrey,* Nathaniel, Thomas and Robert.

From Withington's "Virginia Gleanings in England," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XIX, p. 189, Humphrie Cole, of Tillingham, Essex, clerk, made his will which was proved May 17, 1624, and mentions sons Robert, student of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, William, Thomas and John, and wife Hester. "Item I give unto William Cole now in Virginia, if he be living, my three acres of freehold in Tillingham and two acres of copperhold land called Finches, and doth belong unto his brother Cole. If William Cole is not living, then to a second son Thomas Cole, &c." Foster's Alumni *Oxoniensis* gives Robert Cole created B. D., November, 1642, perhaps Rector of Great Oakley, Essex, 1628, and of Little Oakley 1629. All this seems to show that William Cole of Nutmeg Quarter in Warwick County, Virginia, born 1599, and burgess in 1629, was a son of Rev. Humphrey Cole, of Tillingham, County Essex, clerk; and, as has been stated, it is probable that he was father of William Cole, who was member of the Virginia Council. On the other hand, it is probable that Rev. Hum-

[1] See Quarterly, Vol. V, p. 177-181, and Vol. XXI, p. 292-293.

phrey Cole, of Tillingham, Essex, was identical with Humphrey Cole, son of William Cole, of London, and Elizabeth Deards his wife.

James Cole, of Fluvanna County, married Fanny Chisman Wills, daughter of Elias Wills. His daughter, Ann Wills, married Robert Greenhow, of Williamsburg. Elias Wills, died, in 1805, a very old man. Robert Greenhow's daughter, Polly, married the historian, Hugh L. Girardin, according to a letter of Robert Greenhow to Dr. John Wills. Elias Wills was doubtless a grandson of Elias Wills, of Warwick County, and Mary Condon, his wife.

The York County records show that Lt. Col. John Scasbrook had wife Mary Martian, living at the time of the will of her father (1657) Captain Nicholas Martian. He afterwards married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth Bushrod, who was the widow of Thomas Bushrod, of "Essex Lodge," York County, Va., though her children appear to have been by another marriage. Bushrod also had a previous wife, Mary, widow of Captain Thomas Hill. This Mary was dead in 1661. Mrs. Elizabeth Bushrod was also mother of a heroine of Bacon's Rebellion, Lydia Chisman (born 1648, died March 16, 1694-1695), widow of Major Edmund Chisman, and wife after his death of Thomas Harwood, who died in 1700. By his first marriage with Mary Martian, Lt. Col. John Scasbrook had, at the time of his death, in 1679, (1) Jane, who was married to John Duke, and, soon after the making of the will, to Captain Thomas Mountford; (2) Elizabeth, who was married to David Condon. He had also by his wife Elizabeth four children all under age at the making of his will; (3) Martha, who married Major William Cary, of Warwick, before 1683; (4) Hannah, who about 1692 married Captain Miles Wills, of Warwick, son of Emmanuel Wills and Elizabeth Cary his wife, of Bristol, England; (5) Mary; (6) John, born March 27, 1676, who appears to have been Captain of a Merchant vessel. He married Elizabeth ———. He was probably father of Col. Henry Scasbrook, of Warwick County (born 1700, died April, 1773—*Virginia Gazette*). Martha, wife of Col. Henry Scasbrook, died in 1776, aged fifty-eight years.

In 1701, Elias Wills, of Mulberry Island Parish, Warwick County, was mentioned in a deed, recorded in York County, as husband of Mary, "daughter and heire" of her deceased mother, Elizabeth Condon, who was "eldest daughter of John Scasbrook." Captain Miles Wills and Hannah Scasbrook, his wife, were parents, it is believed, of John Wills, of Isle of Wight County, father of Gen. John Scasbrook Wills of the American Revolution, who died in 1794.

HENRICO COUNTY, VIRGINIA: BEGINNINGS OF ITS FAMILIES.

Part II.

By WILLIAM CLAYTON TORRENCE.

"It is only shallow minded pretenders, who either make distinguished origin a matter of personal pride, or obscure origin a matter of personal reproach." Daniel Webster.[1]

The "classification" which is inevitably necessary in a study of this nature is doubtless the most difficult of the many problems which confront the investigator. Social distinctions there most assuredly were in the colony of Virginia, but the elasticity of the "lines" and the almost constant shifting to admit to the higher circles those who had acquired substantial economic standing, makes it difficult indeed to "classify" with any degree of certainty. An objective method alone holds the slightest promise of success in such an undertaking and such a method will be wholly relied on in this study.

The basis of "social distinction" in colonial times was economic; the foundation of the structure was in wealth. Those who possessed wealth (comparatively speaking) were the best fitted for ruling at that time for their wealth was the means by which they acquired—not ability—but the training of ability for political life; and colonial life was a veritable net-work of politics. The office holding class inevitably became the highest social class and as wealth was a pre-requisite to training a basis for classification is secured by strict adherence to economic values and the classification itself made by grading men and families according to their possessions and offices during specified time periods.

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[1] I am indebted for this quotation to *A Book of Strattons* . . . Compiled by Harriet Russell Stratton, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

"In the seventeenth century all of the work of a public character was done by the foremost men in the community . . . the wealthiest and the most prominent citizens." This quotation from Philip Alexander Bruce's *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (though Doctor Bruce makes the statement in dealing with more strictly local, or county, affairs) is an excellent summary of conditions in the colony at large and may be justly applied to other time periods than the seventeenth century. To this (in connection with the subject under discussion here) should be added: every man, during the colonial period, had full opportunity for enjoying the fruits of his personal labor. Ability of even the crudest nature possessed the value of utility and where a footing had been gained (however slender) there was nothing to prevent a man's economic and social advance. By wisely using the ability he possessed that ability was strengthened and broadened: by his efforts a man gained experience and by his efforts he also gained means. Every condition was favorable, land was easily obtainable, help could be had by obtaining indentured servants, and the accumulation of substance meant that a man could purchase negro slaves. Through the course of years wealth multiplied and position came. There was happily lacking the debauching influence of rapidly made fortunes. Instead of the vulgar irresponsibility with which we meet in the "get-rich-quick" people of later days we find in the people of the earlier time an increasing sense of public responsibility, for political service was the highest goal to the man of fortune. By "industrial honesty" men were able to build and to climb.

Unquestionably a tendency towards democracy was manifested from earliest times in Virginia; becoming stronger with the growth of institutions until finally "race" became the only fundamental distinction. But regardless of the fundamental equality of all men of the Caucasian race there appeared all of the phenomena of "social distinction." Granting the superficiality of these "distinctions" and their inherent power of variation, dealing with the facts seriously is the only method by which we shall ever attain to a complete understanding of the history of our race in the colonial period of its development.

In this attempted "classification" of the Henrico families who are the subject of our study let us bear the following in mind: First, that the objective method employed eliminates all tradition and uses only such facts as the records reveal relative to the economic and political positions occupied by individuals and families. Second, social position was in colonial times, as it is now, relative: the individual and the family had their "standing" in the community in which they lived; this "standing" was of course "transferable" as the members of the family moved into other communities, provided always that it was maintained in the new home by individuals or the family as a whole. Third, the status of an individual or a family or of a "branch of a family" during a specified time-period is no evidence that such was their status either prior to or after that specific period. Period after period should be studied carefully and a view of the whole attained in order to a thorough understanding of the historical aspects and social significance of development or deterioration.

And last, but by no means least, let us recall the adage from Burns:

> "The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that."

Many will recall the words as having been spoken to them first in gentle chiding when one of childhood's most human hours stuck in "bridling" or in immature exclamation of false pride. As a datum of experience let it be recorded that the profound truth underlying Burns' homely phrase comes as a revelation to every genuine student of family history and strikes a light on the phenomenon of "class" (which ordinarily viewed seems just an illustration of chance) and frees him (as Truth alone can) from the narrowness of the purely personal interest, placing individuals and families in their rightful historical position as parts of "the whole" in the world-process.

It is certainly a matter for much regret that the European ancestry of comparatively so few of the Henrico County families is at this present time known. There are no doubt buried away in the English records data which would establish many points of

interest to us in this investigation and it is hoped that some day these may be unearthed. As it is we shall have to depend on the data heretofore brought to light.

Of those persons whose names appear in the "List of the Liveinge & Dead in Virginia 1623 (1624)" the English ancestry of only four is positively known. These four are Christopher Branch who was living on the College Land, John Berkeley who settled a plantation at Falling Creek, Robert Hallam who was living at the Neck of Land and Thomas Baugh who was living at the College land in 1625.

Christopher Branch was the son of Lionel Branch of London, Gentleman, grandson of William Branch of Abingdon, Berkshire, Gentleman, and great grandson of Richard Branch of Abingdon, Woolendraper. Christopher Branch is himself styled "gentleman" in the record of his marriage.[1]

John Berkeley was the son of Sir John Berkeley "of the castle and manor of Beverstone in the county of Gloucester, England, an eminent branch of the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle."[2]

Robert Hallam was of a family in Essex, England, and brother of William Hallam, of Burnham, Essex, salter, and of Thomas Hallam whose son Thomas Hallam was of London, salter.[3]

Thomas Baugh was the son of John Baugh and grandson of Rowland Baugh, Esquire, of Twining, in the County of Worcester.[4]

Of those whose names appear in the list of Heads of Families in Henrico,[5] in 1679 (though not in the list for 1624) the English

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[1] The facts are fully set forth in James Branch Cabell's *Branch of Abingdon* . . . Richmond, Virginia (1911).

[2] William and Mary Quarterly, VI, p. 135.

[3] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XIII, p. 55.

[4] *Ibid.,* VII, p. 424, and Stanard's *Some Emigrants to Virginia,* p. 5. In the *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. XIX, p. 193, is mention of William Baugh, late of London, now gone into Virginia (date 5 June, 1639). Mr. Stanard adds that "probably this is William Baugh who was born about 1610 and was a justice of Henrico County in 1656.".

[5] For this list see William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. XXIV, p. 131, et seq.

ancestry of only six is known: Isham, Pleasants, Randolph, Chamberlaine, Batte and Byrd.

Mrs. Isham (of the list) was the widow of Henry Isham (first of his family in Virginia) who was born about 1628, came to Virginia about 1656 and died about 1676. He was the son of William Isham (1588-1631) and Mary, daughter of William Brett of Toddington, Bedford, and grandson of Sir Euseby Isham, of Pytchley, of an ancient Northamptonshire family.[1]

John Pleasants, the immigrant, was born about 1644-5, in Norwich, England, the son of John Pleasants (born 1618) of St. Savior's, Norwich, worsted weaver; grandson of John Pleasants (1588-1640) of All Saints and St. Savior's, Norwich, worsted weaver; great grandson of Robert Pleasants (ante 1558-1591) of Norwich; great great grandson of William Pleasants (died 1583) of All Saints and St. Paul's Parishes, Norwich.[2]

William Randolph (1651-1711) the first of the "Turkey Island Randolphs" was the son of Richard Randolph (1621-1671) of Morton Hall, Warwickshire; grandson of William Randolph (1572-1650) of Little Haughton, Northamptonshire; great grandson of Richard Randolph, of Hams, Sussex, Gentleman. Henry Randolph (1623-1673), an uncle of William Randolph, also settled in Henrico County.[3]

Thomas Chamberlaine (*circa* 1652-1719) was the son of Edmund Chamberlaine of Maugersbury (who died 1676) and grandson of Edmund Chamberlaine of Maugersbury, Esquire, sheriff of Gloucestershire (who died 1634) and great grandson of Sir Thomas Chamberlaine, of Prestbury, Gloucestershire, ambassador from Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth to several courts.[4]

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[1] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. IV, p. 123 and Vol. XVIII, p. 85, et seq.

[2] *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, p. 218; XVII, pp. 84, 197, 319, 425.

[3] *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 261 and WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, Vol. IV, p. 125. Thomas Randolph (1605-1639), the poet, was a half-brother of Henry Randolph (who came to Virginia) and of Richard Randolph (father of William, of "Turkey Island").

[4] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. XXIII, p. 158.

Thomas Batte[1] was the son of John Batte, Esquire, captain in the regiment of Agbrigg and Morley and justice of the peace in the West Riding, and his wife Maratha, daughter of Thomas Mallory, Dean of Chester; grandson of Robert Batte, fellow and vice master of University College, Oxford; great grandson of Henry Batte and great great grandson of Henry Batte, of Okewell in Birstall (in the West Riding, Yorkshire) who lived in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and until the second year of Queen Elizabeth.[2]

William Byrd (circa 1653-1704) was the son of John Byrd, of London, goldsmith, (a descendant of the Byrds of Brexton in Cheshire) and his wife Grace, daughter of Thomas Steege a prominent man in the colony of Virginia.[3]

Of the European ancestry of the remaining persons[4] whose names appear in the list for 1679 nothing is positively known and though there are traditions bearing on this point in many of their families, and indexes and lists of English genealogical works mention a majority of the names, yet these traditions and men-

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[1] Thomas Batte has no descendants of the name in Virginia at this day. His only (known) son, Thomas Batte, Junior, having left issue only one daughter. There are, however, many descendants of Thomas Batte, Senior, through his daughters Those persons of the name of Batte now resident in Virginia are descendants of Captain Henry Batte (a brother of Thomas Batte, Senior) who lived in Charles City County, later Prince George, was a member of the House of Burgesses and a militia officer. The brothers, Thomas and Henry Batte, had two uncles, named William and Henry Batte, who were in Virginia at an earlier date.

[2] Waters *Genealogical Gleanings in England,* p. 105.

[3] Basset, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.*

[4] In a note appended to an abstract of the will of John Farrar, the elder, of London, Esqr., dated 24 April, 1628, and proved 28 May, 1628 (see *Virginia Magazine,* &c., Vol. XXII, p. 398) Mr. Stanard says: "As it is evident that William Farrar of Virginia [who was living at Jordan's Journey in 1624 and whose descendants' names appear in the Henrico list for 1679] was not a son of Nicholas Farrar, Sr. [see statement of that theory in *Virginia Magazine,* &c., Vol. VII, pp. 319, 433], it looks as if his father has been placed by this will." For a suggestive note relative to the Gowers, see *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. XVII, p. 399 *et seq.*

tions of the names will not be considered here as the limits of this study preclude the consideration of other material than established facts.[1]

Now that we have recorded what is proved as to the English ancestry of these early settlers in Henrico County let us consider the facts presented by the records as to the status of these people from the time of their earliest appearances, and with these FACTS as a standard we shall not go far wrong in "placing" these Henrico families.

The most powerful of the Henrico families (during the period under discussion) were the Randolphs, Cockes, Eppses and Byrds.

William Randolph (1651-1711) was the descendant, on both sides of the house, of generations of gentlefolk. Henry Randolph (the uncle of William) had gone to Virginia about the middle of the seventeenth century. He occupied the not unimportant political office of Clerk of Henrico from about 1656; and was clerk of the Virginia House of Burgesses from about 1660 to his death in 1673. William Randolph was "well intro-

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[1] As nothing can be definitely stated as to the European ancestry of these people it does not seem amiss to give here the approximate years of the births of many of them. These years of birth are approximated from statements made by the parties themselves in making depositions in various cases tried in Henrico County Court. The word *about* should be inserted in every instance between the name of the person and the year. John Howard, 1636; William Hatcher, 1613; Charles Roberts, 1649; James Eakin, 1631; Edward Goode, 1647; Charles Featherstone, 1637; John Willson, 1647; John Huddlesee, 1640; Charles Mathews, 1634; Peter Harris, 1618; Gilbert Jones, 1642; Henry Watkins, 1638; William Giles, 1650; Benjamin Hatcher, 1642 or 4; William Puckett, 1657; Peter Ashbrook, 1649; Thomas Puckett, 1658; Edward Stratton, 1655; John Millner, 1640; Thomas Risbee, 1639; Lewis Watkins, 1641; Abraham Womack, 1644; Edward Hatcher, 1633 or 7; Henry Pue, 1634; Samuel Knibb, 1654; Edward Bowman, 1655; Gilbert Elam, Sr., 1631; Godfry Ragsdale, 1644; Peter Rowlett, 1637; Edward Thacher, 1642; Robert Woodson, 1634; Thomas East, 1640; Giles Carter, 1634; Abraham Childers, 1655 or 6; George Archer, 1654; Bartholomew Roberts, 1637; Thomas Perrin, 1639; John Bayly, 1651; Joseph Royall, 1646; William Clarke, 1637; Henry Lound, 1619; Martin Elam, 1635; Charles Clay, 1645; Thomas Gregory, 1622; Edward Lester, 1640; Robert Bullington, 1632; Anthony Tall, 1655; John Greenhaugh, 1615; Timothy Allen, 1639; John Aust, 1650; Nicholas Perkins, 1646.

duced" at his coming into the colony. He succeeded his uncle as clerk of the county holding the office until 1683 when he was in turn succeeded by Henry Randolph (son of the first Henry). William Randolph occupied during the years of his residence in Virginia nearly every office of either prominence or financial worth in Henrico County: magistrate, clerk, coroner, militia officer (of various grades) member of the House of Burgesses, moreover, he was speaker of the House and clerk of the House and for a short time in 1695 was attorney general of Virginia.

William Randolph married Mary, daughter of Henry Isham (see ante) who settled in Henrico County, was a merchant, militia officer and bore the distinctive "gentleman" affixed to his name. Mrs. Randolph was also the sister of another Henry Isham, who engaged extensively in merchandizing, and of Mrs. Ann Eppes the wife of Colonel Francis Eppes (the third of his name) who was a grandson of the first of the Eppes family in Henrico.

William Randolph left, at his death, a most comfortable fortune and the succeeding generations of his house formed, with him their "founder," a constellation of ability seldom rivalled in the history of the American Colonies.

Of the English ancestry of Richard Cocke (circa 1600-1665) and Francis Eppes (died ante 1655) nothing definite is known,[1] but from their first appearances in the colony, which was quite early, they both occupied a very solid position. Richard Cocke was several times a member of the House of Burgesses and county lieutenant of Henrico. Richard Cocke amassed considerable means for the times in which he lived but just what were his other occupations, besides planting and politics, is not now known. His sons and grandsons, at one time or another, occupied nearly every office of dignity and profit in Henrico County and as the years went by and other parts of the colony

[1] A number of notes on various branches of the Cocke family in England may be found in *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. III, p. 285 and Vol. V, p. 304, et seq, though they contain nothing definite as to the parentage of Richard Cocke of Virginia. Of the English ancestry of the Eppeses, all that may be definitely said is that Francis Eppes, the first in Virginia, probably descended from a family of the name in County Kent. The coat of arms used by the Virginia Eppeses, almost from the time of the immigrant, is that ascribed to Epes or Eppes, of Canterbury, Kent."

were settled and developed we find later generations of this family occupying the foremost positions.[1]

Francis Eppes, the first of his line in Virginia and in Henrico County, was a member of the House of Burgesses, magistrate and in 1652 was elected to the Governor's Council. His son John Eppes was a man of prominence in Charles City County and his son Francis Eppes, the second (circa 1628-1678) was for some years a magistrate in Henrico County and lieutenant colonel of militia; he also engaged in merchandizing. The succeeding generations of the Eppes family (residing in Henrico, Charles City, Prince George and Chesterfield Counties) were prominent office holders and people of substantial means.[2]

William Byrd (1653-1704) founder of the family in Virginia "was secure in many possessions" when he first came into the colony about 1674. He was the son of John Byrd, a London goldsmith, and his wife Grace Stegg, daughter of Thomas Stegg, "one of the leading merchants of the colony," who had been prominent in the political life of Virginia about the middle of the 17th century, and sister of Thomas Stegg, the younger (who died in 1670) who was a member of the governor's council and auditor general of Virginia. The younger Stegg owned a considerable estate in Virginia and at his death in 1670 left the most of it to his nephew, William Byrd.

William Byrd was a planter and merchant and engaged extensively in the Indian trade and in the political life of his times. He occupied the offices of magistrate, militia officer, member of the House of Burgesses and member of the governor's council. He was also Auditor and Receiver General of the colony.

The first William Byrd after residing some years in Henrico County moved to Charles City County and consequently future generations of family are associated with the history of that county rather than with Henrico's. The history of the first three generations in Virginia of this remarkable family is most fascinatingly told by John Spencer Bassett in the introduction to *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr.*

(To be Concluded.)

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[1] Cocke Family: *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vols. III, IV and V.

[2] Eppes Family: *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 281 and p. 393 et seq.

DR. HENLEY OF HAILEYBURY

By Alfred J. Morrison, Ph. D., Hampden-Sidney, Virginia.

The story is that Mr. Copland, a minister of the Church of England, returning from India made up a subscription on board ship for a school in Virginia, to be called the "East India Company's school." This was towards 1620, when the East India Company and the Virginia Company were still very young.

Nothing permanent came of Mr. Copland's proposal; but it is interesting to reflect that when the East India Company established its own school at Haileybury in Hertfordshire, more than two hundred years after Mr. Copland's generous plans for Virginia, the first Principal of the establishment was a clergyman who had for a time filled the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at the College of William and Mary. So Virginia was in the end nearly connected with the East India Company's school.

Haileybury College, which for fifty years after 1806 trained a great number of the men who made and saved India during that interval, was and is an imposing architectural achievement. The buildings stand on the high road from Hertford to London, some twelve miles from London. Fronting the road was a grand façade, with many columns, like that of the National Gallery at London, Wilkins being the architect of both. Behind the façade (three great buildings, Chapel, Hall, and Library, filling that front), was a quadrangle about a quarter of a mile square, the largest quadrangle of the kind in England, except the Great Quad at Trinity College, Cambridge. The sides of the quadrangle were mainly occupied with students' rooms arranged in four blocks, one room allotted to each student—the professors' houses were at the corners, and the side of the quadrangle which contained the great college gate was flanked with lecture rooms and quarters for bachelor professors. Haileybury, under changed control, is still a great school, enrolling a few years ago five hundred boys.

The first Principal of the East India Company's school at Haileybury was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Henley. "Of this gentleman little is known except that he was sixty-six years old when he was appointed to the principalship, that he commenced his career as Professor at William and Mary College, Virginia, in 1770, that he returned to England at the outbreak of the American Revolution and became an assistant master in Harrow School, that he was afterwards a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, and that he was a fairly prominent man of letters and contributed to literary periodicals. How he obtained his appointment is nowhere stated. His name is not to be found among those of prominent Anglo-Indian families, and it must be assumed that he was in some way sufficiently well known to East India Company Directors of importance to obtain the situation." Malthus, the celebrated political economist, was a professor at Haileybury under Dr. Henley. Mr. Cormell Price, the sagacious "Head" of Kipling's school-boy stories *Stalky and Co.* was a house master at the new Haileybury for ten years after 1863.

Dr. Henley the first Principal of Haileybury retired in 1815, at the age of seventy-five, and died immediately afterwards.

[See "An Account of the East India College at Haileybury (1806-1857)" by H. Morse Stephens in *Colonial Civil Service,* by A. Lawrence Lowell. New York. 1900. pp. 270-273.]

NOTE BY THE EDITORS

For sketch of Dr. Henley see "Dictionary of National Biography" and WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY, VII, 153-154. He was quite an active factor in colonial life and strongly opposed the creation of a Bishopric in America, for which he received the thanks of the Virginia Assembly. After returning to England in 1775, he acquired much reputation as the translator of Beckford's striking romance "Vathek." See also Tyler, "Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capital." As to Mr. Copland, the fund which he collected was assigned by the London Company to a school in Virginia at Charles City, now City Point, but the scheme was frustrated by the Indian massacre of 1622.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES

Elder, the Painter.—John A. Elder was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, February, 1833, son of John Douglas Elder, who went from his home in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at the age of 14 and came to Virginia, and finally settled in Fredericksburg, Virginia. His mother was Mary Phillips, of Winchester, Virginia, whose uncle, Mr. Wolfe, was an artist and whose nephew, William Phillips, was a draftsman in the War and Navy Department at Washington. John A. Elder was sent to a school in Fredericksburg taught by Stearns and Hamsley. To the detriment of his studies in school, he showed a great fondness for drawing and sketching, and one of his drawings was hung in a barber shop in Fredericksburg, where it was seen by Mr. John Minor, who admired the work and encouraged the lad. His father did not at first take much stock in his talent, as he thought that he would develop idleness, but his mother gave him money to buy materials, with which to draw and paint, and on one occasion the hired girl gave him the hair from her head to use. He later, at the age of 17, studied in New York under Huntington, and his first portrait was that of one of the Vanderbilts. Assisted by Mr. John Minor, of Fredericksburg, and other friends he went, in 1853, to Europe for four years, where he studied painting at one of the noted art academies of that country. He afterwards paid back all the debt thus incurred. The war broke out soon after his return to Virginia, and he enlisted in the Confederate army and served as an aide to Major Caskie, but was frequently detailed to make drawings of ordnance at the war department. His paintings now in the Westmoreland Club house in Richmond, the "Battle of the Crater," and the "Scout's Prize," were inspired by the scenes in which he figured. He visited Jefferson Davis and painted a portrait of him at his home in Louisiana for Mr. Joseph Bryan, of Richmond. His painting "After Appomattox," and portraits of most of the governors of Virginia hang in the State Library. "Custer's Last Charge" is in Louisville, Ken-

tucky. He painted portraits of Lee and Jackson for Corcoran's Art Gallery. His first drawing, at the age of 17, in crayon and India ink which won a prize (made in New York while working under Huntington) and several of his sketches around Fredericksburg, are now in the possession of his nephews and nieces, H. D., R. L., M. C., and Carrie F. Williams, of Fredericksburg, with whom he lived during the last six years of his life. He died February 25, 1895.

WALKER MAURY.—On page 1 of volume XXIV, of the QUARTERLY, it is stated that Walker Maury married Mary Grymes, daughter of Benjamin Grymes and Mary Dawson. This is a mistake as shown elsewhere—QUARTERLY, V, p. 208. Mary Grymes, Walker Maury's wife, was a daughter of Ludwell Grymes and Mary Dawson, his wife, daughter of President William Dawson of William and Mary College.

WYNNE AND HARRIS.—"John Wynne had a daughter, Keturah Wynne, who married Captain Thomas Ford, who had Jane Ford, who married Major Hugh Moss, whose daughter, Keturah Moss, married General James Taylor, of Newport, Kentucky, my great grandfather. Wanted the parentage of John Wynne."—*Mrs. E. W. Doremus,* 55 West 53rd St., New York.

Mrs. Doremus is having investigations made in England into the pedigree of Captain Thomas Harris (member of the Virginia Company, in 1609, and burgess in 1624, 1638) and would like to correspond with any of his descendants interested in the work.

GORDON.—"Information wanted as to the antecedents of William Gordon, son-in-law and executor of the will (dated July 21, 1775) of Lyddall Bacon, of Lunenburg County."—*Mrs. Mary Mitchell Daniel,* Eastman, Georgia.

STITH.—"Are the descendants of William Stith and his wife, Katherine, eligible to membership in the Colonial Dames and Daughters of the American Revolution?"—*Ibid.* (Answer: In the Colonial Dames, yes. See *Stith Pedigree* in QUARTERLY, XXI, 181-193, 269-298.)

Lee.—See Quarterly, Vol. XXIV, pp. 46-56. *Corrections and Additions.* On page 48, under 5 William[3] Lee, "9 Sarah, who married 1st Matthew Harris (died 1727) and had William Harris; married 2dly Edward Baptist (named in William Lee's will) and had Lee Harris, named as son in will of Elizabeth Baptist (2d wife of Edward Baptist)" should read "9 Elizabeth, who married 1st Matthew Harris (died 1727) son of Robert Harris, and had William eldest son, Matthew, and Lee Harris (the first mentioned as grandson in William Lee's will), who all moved to Goochland County. She married 2d Edward Baptist, and she is named as 'daughter . . . h Baptist' in William Lee's mutilated will as recorded in York County. In 1748, Elizabeth Baptist, names in her will, son Lee Harris."

48 William H. Lee, should read, William Higginson Lee. He was church-warden of the upper precincts of Warwick Parish, in 1781, and died in 1816, leaving by his wife, Martha Perkins, children: (1) Lewis Burwell, (2) Mary, (3) Baker Perkins, (4) Edward Presson Lee, (5) Francis W. Lee. Of these Mary Lee married William Presson and had a son, Dr. William F. Presson, born 1827, who was a student at the University of Virginia, 1846-47.

53 Baker P. Lee, son of William Higginson Lee, and his wife, Martha Perkins, was born in Yorkhampton parish, in 1799, was a merchant planter of York County. In 1833 he was one of the justices of York County, and continued in that office for many years. In 1848 he came down the Peninsula, and bought "Briarfield," an estate of a thousand acres lying half in Elizabeth City County and half in Warwick County. He owned large warehouses in Norfolk in 1849. He married Frances Curtis Wills, daughter of Matthew Wills and Lucy Jones, and granddaughter of Thomas Wills and Angelica Cary. The said Thomas Wills was captain of a Company in the 11th Regiment in the Revolutionary war. Baker Perkins Lee, by his wife Frances Curtis Wills, had issue: (1) Baker Perkins Lee; (2) Martha Perkins Lee, who married William Lee Young, of Denbigh, Warwick County, Virginia; (3) Francis Lightfoot Lee (Capt. Frank Lee), who mustered and equipped at his own expense a company of soldiers called

the "Lee Guards," which left Elizabeth City County at the first summons to arms in 1861. Captain Lee was killed at Vicksburg, Mississippi; (4) Wills Lee, of Baltimore. Baker Perkins Lee, Sr., died on his estate "Briarfield," in 1867.

56 Major Baker Perkins Lee, son of Baker P. Lee, Sr., was born at Yorktown, March 13, 1820. "He was a barrister, major in the Confederate States Army, Statesman, Journalist, Patriot and Scholar" (*Richmond Dispatch* and *Norfolk Landmark,* Sept. 3rd and 4th, 1901). In November, 1855, he married Mary Esther, daughter of Dr. Jesse Jarvis Simkins, an eminent surgeon and physician of Northampton County, Virginia. They had issue: (1) Goodwin Lee, of New York, (2) Frances Simkins, who married Henry Wise Booker, of Hampton, (3) Richard Henry Lee, of Hampton, (4) Frank Lee, of Hampton, 26 years treasurer of Newport News, (5) Arthur Lee, 23 years assistant cashier of the 1st National Bank of Newport News, (6) Rev. Baker P. Lee, Rector of Christ Church, Los Angeles, California, (7) Loxly Simkins Lee, of Philadelphia.

Major Lee died at his home in Hampton, September 2, 1901.

TABB FAMILY.—See QUARTERLY, XIII, 272. "190 John Tabb and Malvina Keaton, his wife" had two children, in addition to Thomas and William Tabb, viz.: Clara Tabb and Mary Gertrude Tabb. The last named married Charles H. Turnbull, at Baltimore, Md. on February 10, 1880. He was father of Mrs. Emily Turnbull Coit, wife of J. Dana Coit, of Norwich, Connecticut.

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   Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, New York.

6. **The English in America.**
   (Volume IV. in Hart's American Nation). Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York.

7. **Men of Mark in Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Men of Mark Publishing Co., Washington, D. C.

8. **Biographical Dictionary of Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York. 1915.

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William and Mary College
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VIRGINIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE[1]

It is probable that no one doubts the conspicuous part played by Virginia along certain important lines of activity. In government she took a leading part in the American Revolution, and was the capital of the Southern Confederacy. In politics, she was the headquarters for many years of the great Jeffersonian party, and though a slave State, she was for years the strongest exponent of the Democratic principle. In war her population has shown a remarkable military spirit and the names of Washington, Scott, Taylor, Lee, Johnston, and Jackson easily stand preeminent among American generals. And in colonization, not only were her presidents foremost in the extension of the national domain, but the South and West teem with the millions, who are descendants of the early Virginia pioneers. Her association with science and scientific men is not so well recognized.

There is a reason for this. Science—practical science especially—loves the crowded centers, where its activity may receive adequate reward, and rural occupation and a scattered population are not supposed to be conducive to scientific pursuits. Now, Virginia has been a land of counties and not of cities or towns.

Nevertheless, her records are not a sealed book. It may be readily admitted that science as a profession has not flourished, but in the knowledge which has come down to us there have been indications of a spirit in Virginia leading to invention and re-

[1] An address by Lyon G. Tyler before the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., October 20, 1915.

search, which promises better things when population becomes denser and more compact. Especially in the case of the great immortals, who hold first place in the Temple, her contribution to science has, I think, been in no degree mean or contemptible.

At any rate, I opine, a rapid review of the evidences of the scientific spirit in the history of Virginia, which is the object of this paper, may possibly not be without some interest or value to those who like to delve in the mysteries of the past.

Not much is to be expected of the first century of settlement, when the attention of the people was absorbed in the mere necessities of living. But in the latter part of the seventeeenth century the inquiring spirit began to manifest itself, especially along the lines of natural history. The new era begins with John Banister, a man whom I consider as the pioneer scientist. He was born in England, emigrated first to Jamaica, and settled near what is now Petersburg, Virginia, as early as 1678, where he officiated as minister of the Church of England for the Parish of Appomattox, afterwards Bristol Parish. He was an ardent naturalist, and compiled a catalogue of Virginia plants, which is published in Ray's *Historia Plantarum.* He also contributed various papers to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. Among them "Observations on the Natural Productions of Jamaica," "Insects of Virginia," "Curiosities in Virginia," "On Several Sorts of Snails," and "Description of the Snake Root," in which he was probably the first to call public attention to the medicinal qualities of that plant. We know little in addition of his private history, except that he came to his death by a fall while engaged in pursuing his favorite researches in botany. His grandson, Col. John Banister, was one of the prominent Virginians of the American Revolution.

Contemporary with John Banister, but coming to Virginia at a later date was John Clayton, minister at Jamestown from 1684-1686. He was probably a graduate of Oxford University, as there are several John Claytons among the Oxford matriculates who might be taken for this man. In May, 1686, he was rector of Croxton at Wakefield in Yorkshire. He was a member of the Royal Society, and was a friend of Hon. Robert Boyle, the celebrated chemist, to whom he wrote from Jamestown, de-

scribing a remarkable instance of animal electricity and the fly called the fire-fly or "lightning bug." He was very fond of scientific studies, and his reflections on Virginia, published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society on his return, might have been made more valuable, but for his loss on the way thither, as he states, of all his "books, chymical instruments, glasses and microscopes." As it is, we are under great obligations to him for his description of Jamestown Island and of the climate, soil, animals and inhabitants of the colony. Some of his philosophic suggestions as to physical phenomena are rather amusing in the light of our present superior knowledge. In commenting upon the diseases in September, which were then very prevalent, and are now all but disappeared, he attributes them not to the troublesome mosquito, but to the change from summer to fall. Thus he writes: "That by the exhausting Heat and Ferment of the Blood raised too high and the Tone of the stomach relaxed, when the Weather breaks the blood falls, and like over fermented liquors, is depauperized, or turns eager and sharp, and there is a crude digestion, whence the named distempers may be supposed to ensue." Thunder in those days seemed to be considered a primal fact, and lightning was one of its qualities or attributes, and Dr. Clayton suggests to the learned Society, for which he is writing, that thunder, with its lightning, was probably identical with "a sulphureous, inflammable spirit," which he had often distilled from coal, by which I suppose he meant kerosene oil.

The early part of the eighteenth century was contemporary with a visit to Virginia of the great English naturalist, Mark Catesby, whose sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of Dr. William Cocke, Secretary of State of Virginia during the administration of Governor Alexander Spotswood. He remained in Virginia seven years, from 1712 to 1719, and traveled extensively, and when he returned brought to England the finest collection of natural objects which is said ever to have been brought from America to that country at any one time. Subsequently, he spent four years in the Southern colonies, and in 1726 began the publication of his "Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands," the figures etched by himself and colored under his supervision.

More distinctly to the manor was Robert Beverley, born about 1676 in Virginia, son of Major Robert Beverley, of Gloucester County. He was an active, enterprising man, planter, naturalist and historian, mainly the last, and the only historian up to that time in any of the colonies, according to Dr. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution, who had an original American spirit about him, but none the less a scientist who had a shrewd love of observing nature. Probably the most interesting chapters in his work, "The History of Virginia," published in 1705, are those relating to the natural history of the colony.

Succeeding him should be noticed William Byrd, born in Virginia, in 1676, statesman, scholar, student of nature, Fellow of the Royal Society, and the intimate friend of Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, the philosopher and statesman, and nephew of the great Robert Boyle. He built the present noble brick mansion at Westover on James River, and gathered about him the finest library on the continent. He wrote several very interesting tracts upon Virginia, which, I believe, are admitted to have no equal in colonial literature for grace of style and composition. In his letters and tracts, "The Dividing Line," and the "Land of Eden," he makes valuable comment on the mineral, vegetable and animal products of the colony in words that scintillate with wit and humor.

Another name stands high in the list at this time—that of John Mitchell—by profession a physician. He emigrated to Virginia about 1700, and resided at Urbanna on the Rappahannock River. He devoted himself to botany and other scientific subjects, and discovered several new species of plants, one of which was called by Linnaeus in his memory *"Mitchella repens."* His articles published in the *Transactions* and in pamphlet form, discuss botany, the origin of color in races, the yellow fever and electricity. After remaining in Virginia for nearly half a century, he returned to England in 1744, where he was made a member of the Royal Society, published a map of Virginia, and died in March, 1768.

But the glory of colonial Virginia in this field of natural history during the eighteenth century was John Clayton—not the minister of Jamestown of the same name, but another and quite

a different person. He was son of John Clayton, the learned attorney-general of Virginia, and grandson of Sir John Clayton, of Fulham in Middlesex, England. He was born at Fulham in 1685, studied medicine, and came with his father to Virginia in 1705. He was indefatigable in botanical researches. About 1723 he became clerk of Gloucester County, and held the post till his death December 15, 1773, at the age of eighty-eight years. His office gave him leisure for studying the soil and atmospheric phenomena affecting the vegetation of the colony. He kept a botanical garden at his home, known as "Windsor," on the Piankatank river, and from this garden and other sources he amassed a great number of plants, which he dried and forwarded to Gronovius, who, in conjunction with Linnaeus, published a list and description of them in Latin in a book which was called "Flora Virginica." This work contained the first complete enumeration of the Virginia plants, one species of which was christened in his honor by Gronovius *Claytonia,* and are occasionally met with. He was a correspondent of many learned men and was also a F. R. S.

In the meantime, a new era was impending in the history of science throughout the world. The iconoclasm of Voltaire and Rousseau against the dogmatism of the churches and the authority of rulers gave a stimulus to freer thought everywhere. Benjamin Franklin enthused both Europe and America by his remarkable demonstration that lightning was identical with the electric spark. In Virginia, where the church never had much influence, speculation on all kinds of questions became rife. In 1756 Franklin visited Williamsburg, the little capital near Jamestown, and received from the College of William and Mary the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1758 Francis Fauquier, a devotee of the sciences and a Fellow of the Royal Society, arrived as governor, and the same year Dr. William Small came to Williamsburg as professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the College of William and Mary. Fauquier and Small delighted in the society of young men, and at Fauquier's table, where Small was a constant attendant, the youth of Virginia—Jefferson, Page, Walker, McClurg—learned their lessons in the rights of man.

Dr. Small introducted in 1760 the lecture system at the College, and Jefferson, by nature a scientist himself and no mean inventor, referred to Dr. Small as the man who "fixed the destinies of his life," and John Page eulogized him as "the illustrious professor of Mathematics, the great Dr. Small, of Birmingham, the darling friend of Darwin." In 1764, after a stay of six years in the colony, Small returned to England and took up his residence at Birmingham, where he had the society of the great English philosophers, who made that city the center of their life and labors. Besides being "the darling friend" of Erasmus Darwin, he was the intimate friend of James Watt, and it was on his advice that Watt, in 1773, left Glasgow and came to Birmingham, where he formed a partnership with Matthew Bolton, the founder of the Soho Engineering Works. For it must be remembered that in 1763, by his famous development of the steam engine, Watt furnished the key to the new era mentioned, which was one of invention and not chiefly one of observation as hitherto.

Under the expanding wings of this new departure a society for the promotion of manufactures was founded, in 1759, in Williamsburg, which was authorized by the General Assembly to offer bounties for discoveries and improvements, and in May, 1773, a Philosophical Society known as "THE VIRGINIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE" was established, of which the venerable John Clayton, of "Windsor," the botanist, was president, and John Page, of "Rosewell," was vice-president. Page, who was lieutenant-governor under Patrick Henry and afterwards governor, spent much of his time in scientific investigations. He invented an instrument, by which he measured the fall of dew and rain to the 300th part of an inch, and claims that his invention was the first of its kind ever used in America, "perhaps in the world;" and at his residence on the York, he calculated an eclipse of the sun. As early as 1779, fifty years before Michael Farraday's wonderful experiments, in a communication published in the American Philosophical Society's *Transactions,* he suggested the identity of magnetism with electricity. His neighbors called him John Partridge after the noted Almanac maker in Scotland. There is preserved in the Virginia Historical Society a gold medal presented to John Hobday, of Gloucester County, by this Virginia

society of science, for his invention of an improved method of threshing grain by horse power.

I have touched somewhat in detail upon these early manifestations of the scientific spirit in Virginia, and the rest of my article must be of a mere general character. As we all know, invention and discovery came to their flower in the nineteenth century, and most important in the list of the early post-Revolutionary characters was James Rumsey, who though a native of Maryland, was a citizen of Virginia, and spent the active part of his life in that Commonwealth. He lived at Shepherdstown on the banks of the Potomac, where he was manager of a saw mill and superintendent of the Potomac Company, of which Washington was a member. Although, as has frequently happened in other cases, there were others to precede him, these were Europeans, and as an American he was the first in the country to construct and navigate a boat by steam. In this noble experiment he also greatly improved upon his European predecessors. His first steamboat was fifty or sixty feet long, drawn to a point at both ends and worked by a steam engine, which forced water through a pipe out at the stern. He privately tested his boat in 1786, and gave a public demonstration at Shepherdstown of its value in 1787, when the novel sight of a boat moving through the water against the current of a river at the rate of four or five miles an hour, was witnessed by many persons, including General Horatio Gates. Rumsey obtained patents for his invention from the Legislatures of Virginia, Maryland and New York, and in 1788 the Rumseian Society was formed in Pennsylvania, of which Benjamin Franklin was a principal member.

He then went to Great Britain where he demonstrated the utility of his plans to the Society of Arts in London and procured patents from the British government for his steamboat and for various improvements in steam engines, pumps, boilers and mill machinery. In spite of all kinds of pecuniary embarrassments he successfully constructed a new boat of about double the length of his American steamer, and after private trial, made preparations for its public exhibition on the Thames. But after all the burdens borne, and on the very eve of triumph, a stroke of apoplexy intervened between him and all earthly glory. On the

evening of December 20, 1792, he delivered an eloquent lecture before the committee of mechanics of the Society of Arts on the subject of hydrostatics, at the conclusion of which, while engaged in wording resolutions to be entered on the Society's book, he was taken with a violent pain in the temple. He became speechless and expired the next day. Some few weeks later his boat was tried on the Thames, and according to the notice in the Gentleman's Magazine attained a speed of "four knots an hour."

Rumsey had a close second in John Fitch, who contested his claim to precedence, but as far as I can understand the evidence, it appears conclusive in favor of Rumsey. He was backed by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Benjamin Rush. The last named in 1788 eulogized Rumsey's moral character, and represents Fitch as a man "equally known for plagiarism in philosophy and a licentious opposition to our constitution," which opinion of Dr. Rush is a delightful instance of the mingling of politics with science. Though Rumsey's steamboat never came into practical use, he paved the way for Fulton, whom he met in London, and several of his inventions survive in one modified form or another; as for instance, the tubular boiler, so superior to the old tub or still boiler in the presentation of fire surface and capacity for holding rarefied steam.

One of Rumsey's patrons was Thomas Jefferson, who succeeded Franklin as President of the American Philosophical Society. In the vast variety of objects which engaged his almost universal genius, philosophy held no insignificant place, as is abundantly shown by his famous *Notes on Virginia* and his numerous letters to men of science. It was something to defend America triumphantly from the charge of the Abbé Raynal of the degeneracy of the man of Europe transplanted to America, and something more to confound the naturalist Buffon with his superior knowledge on a question of natural history and force the admission from the French philosopher that he should have consulted the Virginian before publishing his work, "so as to be sure of his facts." He invented a plow, a hemp brake, a pedometer, and a copying press.

The name James Madison was rendered doubly distinguished at this period in being the common possession of the illustrious "Father of the Constitution" and of his cousin once removed the First Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Virginia and first President of the College of William and Mary after the American Revolution. The latter held the chair of natural philosophy in William and Mary College and was a worthy successor of Dr. William Small. He was an ardent friend of the American Revolution, and so strong a champion of free principles that it is said of him that in his sermons he would never speak of "the kingdom of Heaven," but of "that great Republic where there was no distinction of rank and where all men were free and equal." Doubtless his introduction, in co-operation with Mr. Jefferson, of the elective system of study at William and Mary, in 1779, was an expression of this feeling. He had the use of an extensive apparatus selected by Dr. Small in London, perhaps the best in the United States at the time, and excelled in physics and astronomy. In a paper to the American Philosophical Society in 1779, he submitted an interesting disquisition on the Aurora Borealis, and in 1789 communicated his observation on a lunar eclipse and the transit of Mercury across the sun's disk. In the lecture room he was indefatigable, and spent four to six hours a day. He introduced what was the first systematic course of lectures on political economy in any American College, and his enthusiasm threw a peculiar charm over his lectures on Natural Philosophy.

A contemporary of Dr. Madison was Dr. James Greenway, of Dinwiddie County, an ardent botanist. He wrote a number of interesting letters for the Philadelphia Society, in which he dwelt upon the fertilizing value of the pea, the nature of a certain poisonous plant found in Virginia, and an extinct volcano in North Carolina.

The current of the nineteenth century now sets in strongly and the limits of my paper confines me to a very brief mention of names.

Ephraim McDowell, born in 1771, in Rockbridge County, a graduate of medicine in the University of Edinburgh, who practiced his profession at Danville, Virginia. He was the first to operate for ovarian tumor, and became famous as the father of ovariotomy.

Benjamin Winslow Dudley, of Spotsylvania County, born in 1783, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and student afterwards at London under Cooper and Abernethy. He performed the first operation for stone in the bladder and was spoken of as the greatest lithotomist. It has been said that Benjamin Dudley's career presents the longest list of successful operations of any surgeon of modern times.

William B. Rogers, a link between Massachusetts and Virginia, studied from 1819 to 1825 at William and Mary College, where his father, Patrick Kerr Rogers, was Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy and subsequently held his father's chair, and some years later a similar one at the University of Virginia. As State Officer he made the first report on the geology of Virginia, a work which has no superior, and is full of original suggestions. After thirty-five years' service in Virginia he moved to Massachusetts, where in 1860 he founded in Boston the famous Institute of Technology, and died in that city in 1882, having seen his pet project crowned with success.

But Rogers never forgot the claims of Virginia, and shortly before his death, in a published letter to John W. Draper, he referred with enthusiasm to the freedom of its great University and "the large relative space," which it had always given to "physical and mathematical science," "an example," he said, "only slowly adopted by the older Universities," by which I suppose he meant Harvard and Yale, though he had too much politeness to mention them by name.

Edmund Ruffin, born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, January 5, 1794, and educated at William and Mary College. He was an immense reader of books and by his works on scientific farming produced an entire revolution in agriculture in Tidewater, Virginia. His system embraced the use of marl and leguminous crops as fertilizers of poor soil, drainage, blind ditching and the five field rotation of crops. Probably there was nothing positively new in this, but his books and writings as Editor of the *Farmer's Register* had a personal force about them that compelled results. Those results, as told by the census of the United States were that, whereas lands in Eastern Virginia had

steadily declined in value, since the Revolution, leading to large emigrations southward, they steadily increased from 1835 to 1860, by the millions of dollars, and Virginia was never so prosperous as when the Civil War came on.

John Peter Mettauer, of Prince Edward County, Bachelor of Arts of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, and M. D. of the University of Pennsylvania in 1809. He was the first on this continent to operate for cleft palate, the first to employ iodine in the treatment of scrofula, and was one of the first to conceive the idea of curing vesicovaginal fistula, and among the first in such major operations as amputation of the shoulder, legation of the carotid, and the resection of the superior maxilla.

Cyrus Hall McCormick, son of Robert McCormick, born February 15, 1809, in Rockbridge County, where on his father's farm for six years he experimented and perfected the reaper which revolutionized agriculture throughout the world. Not only did it vastly increase the area of grain cultivation, but it was the stimulus of the phenomenal development of every manner of farm implement. It had a profound influence upon the fate of the Union; for William H. Seward attributed to it and not to the armies of the North the subjugation of the South. "The reaper is to the North what slavery is to the South," he said. "By taking the place of regiments of young men in the Western harvest fields, it releases them to do battle for the Union at the front, and at the same time keeps up the supply of bread for the nation's armies. Thus without McCormick's reaper, I fear, the North could not win, and the Union would be dissolved."

Matthew Fontaine Maury, born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, January 14, 1806, son of Richard Maury and Diana Minor, his wife. He was educated at private schools and entered the navy. He suggested a system of reforms in the Navy Department, which adopted in 1842 introduced order where chaotic conditions formerly prevailed. As head of the Naval Observatory in Washington he made a profound study of the varying depths, and the winds and currents of the sea and by his works, "Sailing Directions," and his "Physical Geography of the Sea and Its Meterology," which last work is said to have passed through more editions than any modern book of its kind, won for him the name

of "Pathfinder of the Seas." He suggested all the principles of the modern weather bureau operations, instituted a system of deep sea soundings, and showed that the bottom of the sea between New Foundland and Ireland was a plateau admirably adapted for a telegraphic cable. He suggested to Cyrus W. Field the character of the cable to be employed and how it should be laid. In generous recognition of this fact, Mr. Field said, "I am a man of few words: Maury furnished the brains; England gave the money; and I did the work."

As chief of the water defences of the South under the Confederacy, he was the father of the torpedo and mining system now employed so generally in the European War. He was covered with honors and medals by all the European governments, was urged by the French government to take charge of their great Observatory at Paris, and invited to Russia by a personal letter from the Grand Admiral Constantine. Instead of accepting he preferred to live a plain Virginia citizen, having charge at his death, February 1, 1873, of the chair of meteorology at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Virginia. By many he was regarded as the greatest of all American scientists.

John L. Porter,[1] of Norfolk County, was born September 19, 1813, son of Joseph Porter, the proprietor of a ship building establishment at Portsmouth, Virginia, the largest south of the Potomac River. In 1846 he was appointed acting naval constructor in the United States Navy and superintended the construction of many ships. When Virginia seceded, he held a similar position under the Confederate Government, and later was promoted chief constructor. In 1846, when engaged in work for the United States Government at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he conceived the design of an iron vessel capable of going to sea, which would, nevertheless, be shot proof. His plans and designs were submitted to the Navy Department and were not approved. This was ten years before England and France began thinking on the subject of ironclads, and so far as Mr. Porter was concerned was the result of his own ideas without assistance from anyone. In 1861

[1] For a sketch of John L. Porter, see *A History of Norfolk Co.*, etc., by John W. H. Porter.

the possibility of the value of ironclads in war was generally discussed, and Mr. Porter recurred to his scheme. He submitted the plans of 1846 slightly modified to the Confederate Government, accompanied with a model, and his ideas were applied to the *Merrimac,* a Federal warship, which had been burnt to the water's edge when the Gosport Navy Yard at Portsmouth was abandoned in 1861 to the Confederates. The subsequent career of this vessel thus cased in armor is known to history. In a battle with the Federal wooden battleships at Newport News on March 8, 1862, the *Merrimac,* or *Virginia,* as she was now named, demonstrated in the most convincing manner the superiority of iron ships over wooden ones no matter how gallantly manned, and bravely fought. The battle was an epoch-making one, and revolutionized naval warfare throughout the world. It is a curious fact that in the use of the torpedo, mining, and the submarine, in the development of trench warfare, in the employment of the iron ships in battle, in the invention of the machine gun (by Gatling, a North Carolinian), and the choice of a uniform best adapted to service in the field, bluish gray (generally adopted in the great European war) the old agricultural South led the nations of the world.

John Mercer Brooke, son of General George Mercer Brooke, a distinguished officer of the old United States Army, a member of an old Virginian family, was born December 18, 1826. He was associated with Maury at the Naval Observatory, and aided him in his deep sea soundings, and devised the deep sea sounding apparatus, which was so useful when the submarine telegraph cable came to be laid. And in recognition of his service to science, he received from King William I of Prussia, the gold science medal of the Academy of Berlin. In 1863 Captain Brooke was made chief of ordnance and hydrography under the Confederacy, and among the innovations introduced by him was the "air space" in artillery, which was soon generally accepted as one of the most important improvements in ordnance.

Dr. Walter C. Reed, born in Gloucester County, in 1846, and educated at the University of Virginia, from which he graduated as Doctor of Medicine in 1868. As assistant surgeon in the United States Army he studied the cause of yellow fever. In February, 1901, he read before the Pan-American Medical Con-

gress at Havana a paper in which he gave a modest and scientific history of the results achieved by himself and his colleagues, which established one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern sciences—that yellow fever is conveyed by the bite of a mosquito of a certain species. On his return to the United States he was received with enthusiasm by the Johns Hopkins Medical Association and other medical bodies, who realized the soundness of his conclusions and the importance of his discovery. Dr. Reed stood pre-eminent both as a man of science and a disinterested lover of humanity. Since the cause was made known, rendering prevention possible, the dread scourge of yellow fever has practically ceased.

Probably I ought not to pass by Henry Draper, son of the eminent scientist Dr. John W. Draper, who was professor at Hampden-Sidney College for three years. Of him it may be said that England gave parentage, Virginia birth, and New York training and the field of action. He was the first to obtain a photograph of the fixed lines in the spectra of the stars and the first to prove in this way the existence of oxygen in the sun—pronounced at the time the most brilliant discovery ever made by an American.

With Draper, I finish this paper. Other names of closer identity with the State might be added, and I do not go into the field of the present day.

Doubtless, this resumé shows that there has been no lack of individual talent for science in Virginia, and that nowhere has science excited more interest, but it is clear that there has been little community support in its favor. Men born in Virginia have generally had to go elsewhere for preferment. The Philosophical Society established in 1773 died with the Revolution and probaly would have died shortly anyway. None succeeded it, at least, none to count. The only societies that had a continuous existence were the political and agricultural societies. Country people cannot get together conveniently, and when they do it must be for merry-making, for politics, or for private and public business.

As a child, I saw the plantation life before the war, and was brought up with others that saw it more fully, and there was never anything equal to it for joy and happiness. The poorest

white man had perfect independence, and even the slaves had a kind of independence which had to be coaxed to labor. But we missed in Virginia what we still miss, in spite of all changes that have ensued, that which we see here to-day in this society—the touch of mind with mind, the mingling of soul with soul, leading to great community results. If in Massachusetts personal independence has been less, community strength has been conspicuous from a very early period.

LETTERS OF MAJOR THOMAS ROWLAND, C. S. A., FROM THE CAMPS AT ASHLAND AND RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1861

(Concluded)

CAVALRY CAMP, ASHLAND, VA.,

July 19th, 1861.

I received your letter of the 16th upon my return from Richmond day before yesterday. I staid all night and went to a wedding, by Miss Mary Gibson's invitation. Dr. Hunter, our surgeon, and my particular friend, was the first groomsman, and Miss Mary Gibson was one of the bridesmaids. The bride and groom I had never seen before. I met some very pleasant young ladies and enjoyed myself very much. Miss Mary Gibson is a sister of my classmate, Lieut. Gibson. She is very intelligent, sensible and interesting. I knew her quite well at West Point last summer; and admire her as much as any young lady of my acquaintance. She is original without being eccentric, and natural in her manner without simplicity. Miss Maria Nicholas I was also much pleased with. She is remarkably talented, but so queer that I have not been able to comprehend her entirely.

I have told you something of the young ladies, now I will refer to Dr. Hunter, alias, Tom Hunter. He is a young man but holds already a high position in his profession. He is a perfect gentleman and a universal favorite. Capt. Lomax, second in command at Ashland, is also a general favorite. He is a classmate of Fitz Lee. He is a strict soldier, and would cut off his head if it was "the custom of the service" to do so. Off duty, he is full of fun and the soul of generosity. Col. Field you have heard of before. Rooney Lee left yesterday for Staunton in command of two companies. He has been promoted to a majority. I have now complied with your request that I should tell you something of my associates.

You remember that I told you in a previous letter of my meeting Joe Packard in Richmond. The next day I saw it stated in the paper that J. Packard had been carried before the mayor as a suspicious character, so I am afraid poor Joe was picked up for a Yankee. Rather an unpleasant joke I should think. We hear this afternoon of an engagement at Manassas Junction which was rumored last night. I am, of course, very anxious to hear whether the Alexandria Riflemen were engaged. Last night just as I was going to bed a train came thundering by my window bearing a North Carolina Regiment to Manassas. I suppose I knelt down and prayed that they might be victorious over the invaders of Virginia. I do not feel quite satisfied at staying at Ashland, when my little brother is bearing arms at one of the posts of danger, but it is not my fault. I sometimes have thought of resigning my commission in the Provisional Army and joining the volunteer services as a private, but I don't know that I could be of more use in that capacity, while a position in the regular army gives me a support to look forward to in times of peace, which would be of importance if our Northern property should be confiscated.

There seems to be little doubt of our army in the northwest being seriously routed, but this disaster will only arouse the spirit of Virginians to renewed efforts to drive back the invader and avenge the death of our noble comrades. McClellan is doubtless a great general, but what can any general accomplish eventually against a people fighting for their homes and liberties. Let Napoleon answer, who marched, with the finest army that the world has ever produced, to the invasion of Russia, and barely escaped across the Niemen with a few emaciated wretches, the sad remnant of the Grand Army. Not one-twelfth of an army of 500,000 survived this vicious campaign, and more than 250,000 Frenchmen were "welcomed with bloody hands to hospitable graves," by the desperate defenders of their country. The last time that I was in Richmond I went to the Capitol to see the State Library, and the view of the city. It is beautiful. Lt. Douglass who has travelled in Europe says that Edinburgh and Richmond are the two prettiest cities in the world.

LETTERS FROM HERMITAGE FAIR GROUNDS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

CAMP OF INSTRUCTION, HERMITAGE FAIR GROUNDS,
RICHMOND, VA.,
July 29, 1861.

I have just reported for duty at a new post the name of which is presented in full at the top of the page. I have received to-day, however, a commission as Cadet in the Engineer Corps of the Confederate States Army.[1] It is a low appointment in a high corps; I am satisfied with it and will accept it to-morrow. I will apply for orders and hope to be assigned to some duty more agreeable and exciting than drilling volunteers. If we only had a regular army, but volunteer companies all have their officers and we are rather *de trop*. I aspire to Manassas Junction, it would be something like a realization of romance, to aid in throwing up the redoubts of an army, and an army already illustrious by a brilliant victory and destined, I hope, to accomplish still greater things if ever again brought into collision with the Northern Army. Another such victory would expose Washington to our tender mercies. Our troops have gained steadiness and experience in the first battle, they have more or less cowed the enemy, and with the blessing of God, a second victory as great as the first will place Alexandria and Arlington Heights in the hands of the Confederate troops. I do not feel in good spirits doing nothing as it seems to me, at a Camp of Instruction, while laurels are to be won in achieving our country's independence, so near to my own home. I feel restless when I think of it; it would never do to grow to be an old man and not be able to tell my grandchildren that I had fought in the second War for American Independence. The 17th of April and the 21st of July, 1861, are days long to be remembered in the annals of the Confederate States of America.

I have received a sweet letter from Dora, that makes me love her more than I ever did. She is a true hearted woman, and possesses what so few people in these stormy times do possess, a

[1] This commission, dated July 12, 1861, is preserved.

charity broad enough to comprehend both sections of our distracted land. Popular opinion in times of great excitement is contagious; it is no easy matter to withstand it, and we cannot appreciate too highly the few noble and strong spirits in the North who have conquered a delusion so universal, and so plausible in its time-honored phraseology, as that of "maintaining the integrity of the Union."

Aunt Laura is still at Amelia Springs. Uncle Robert talks of renting a house, it is so difficult to get board now in Richmond; the city is so full of people. I left some kind friends at Ashland whom I will never forget. Mr. Macmurdo's family and the Wickhams who live about four miles from Ashland. The Wickhams are a real old Virginia family, and have a beautiful place in the country. Mrs. Rooney Lee has been staying there, Miss Anna Lee and Miss Mary Carter. I had a standing and oft-repeated invitation to dine with them every Sunday and bring my friends. Whenever I went to see them, they were so glad to see me and always pressed me so kindly to come again. The younger Mrs. Wickham is a beautiful woman, with all the innocent simplicity of a girl. Mrs. Lee is quite pretty. They were a pleasant family and I felt almost like a cousin with them; old Mrs. Wickham is much like Cousin Lucy.

Johnnie Lee is stationed here. He is a Lieutenant in the C. S. Army. How was it that Clarence Cary distinguished himself? I did not see the account of it. I saw Douglas Forrest highly mentioned in a letter in the *Dispatch*. Capt. Lomax is reading the "Partisan Leader." I will send it to you when he has finished it. Col. Wilcox is not in Richmond. I will inquire for him again to-morrow, and if I find him I will do all that I can for him.[1] It seems like old times to be again a Cadet, but I don't object to it. What is the use of having rank until you have earned it, or done something to deserve it. Col. Dimmock has just ap-

[1] He was a prisoner of war.

CAMP OF INSTRUCTION, HERMITAGE FAIR GROUNDS
Aug: 14th, 1861.

I called on Col. Wilcox about a week ago; he is wounded in the right forearm, a painful but not a serious wound. He looked pale and haggard, either from the effects of his wound and fatigue, or from mental anxiety. His quarters are as neat and comfortable as any gentleman could wish. I promised to bring him something to read which was all that he wanted. He wished to be kindly remembered to my mother and sisters and to my brother. Lieut. Kent, a co-temporary with me at West Point, is also at the Hospital in Richmond. I went with Mrs. Gibson and Miss Mary Gibson on Saturday evening to call upon Mrs. Davis; she was not well enough to see us but we saw Miss Maggie Howell. They have moved into their new house and a very pretty one it is; not so showy as the White House, but in the interior much more tastefully arranged.

I have not replied to your suggestion about the *Dispatch* because I have not had a dollar this month. A question of formality has arisen between the Confederate States and the Virginia Government, and the consequence is that the Provisional Army of Virginia is left without pay, but not without work. It will be arranged in course of time, but in the meanwhile we wait from Gen. Fauntleroy down to Lieut. Rowland.

I am acting again as Post Adjt. which seems to be my luck at every Post. I have a good Sergeant Major so I do not find the duties at all laborious. I suppose you heard of Cousin Willie Lee's gallant death upon the field of battle. His young and beautiful wife, Miss Lillie Paran, was a particular friend of my classmate Washington. I have often heard him speak of her.

I am in tent at present with Lieut. Burney of Alabama for my chum. He is a handsome, pleasant fellow with a red head, and is a very agreeable companion. Johnnie Lee circumambulates the Camp followed by a small pointer dog, his inseparable companion. I have been reading "Tom Burk of Ours." It is very entertainpointed me Superintendent of Drills throughout the Camp. There are about 3000 men here, 35 of whom are raw regulars.

ing. Napoleon is the hero of the book, Napoleon who rises above every hero of all nations and ages. Aunt Laura tells me that Cousin Richard [Mason] has been appointed a surgeon in the Confederate Army. I often wish for the day when "Okeley," "The Cottage," etc. will again be occupied by their rightful owners, and separated families will be again united. I have yet received no orders under my last commission.

Camp of Instruction, Richmond, Va.,

August 23d, 1861.

Uncle Robert has promised to try to get me some position in active service where I may learn practically my duties as an Engineer Officer. I think also that I could live more economically in camp at Manassas than at Richmond. Forty dollars a month is very small pay for a Cadet acting in the capacity of an officer, as all cadets will until a second West Point is established. I met a classmate from West Point the other day who is a Captain in the Missouri State Army. He left there in June, on furlough, and then resigned. My class is now the first [?] class at West Point and graduate next June, perhaps sooner, so I am a year behind them; it will be nearly two years before I am of age and can be promoted to a Lieutenantcy. But patience and my turn will come. Michie is now head of my class, Twining second and Meigs third. Rabb and Townsend fourth and fifth.[1]

Cadet Waller of West Point has just been ordered here. He was in the class below mine. I will take him for a tent-mate as Lt. Berney has been ordered away.

I have made some more acquaintances since I last wrote. Lt. Hooper introduced me to a Mr. Christian living about a quarter of a mile from the Camp. I have been there twice to tea, and have a standing invitation to visit them. Yesterday they sent us a basket of goodies. He has several sons and one daughter. Everybody is kind to officers and soldiers.

CAMP OF INSTRUCTION, RICHMOND, VA.,

September 3rd, 1861.

I wrote to Mason on Sunday telling him of his appointment [in the Navy]. If he can get a pistol or sword he had better do so, but they are not necessary. I have not a single weapon, not even a penknife. My tent-mate, Lt. Waller of West Point and I spent the evening, last night, at Miss Jennie Pegram's and heard some beautiful singing from some of the Richmond amateurs. Miss Pegram is a sister of Col. Pegram and is very beautiful, and lovely in character. I met Dr. McGuire on the street yesterday. He is assistant surgeon at Culpeper Court House. Waller and I go visiting every day or two in Richmond. I go to church every Sunday with Lollie and dine regularly with Aunt Laura on that day.

I may as well tell you that Col. R., Maj. Johnson and every officer to whom I have spoken on the subject, consider that I am entitled fairly to a commission as Lieutenant in the Confederate Army instead of Cadet. By my present rank, cadets who were under my instruction at West Point are now my superiors.

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[1] In the "Official Register," 1860, the standing for the Fifth Class is as follows: Thomas Rowland, At Large; James D. Rabb, Ky.; William J. Twining, Ia.; John R. Meigs, At Large; Peter S. Michie, Ohio. These are the five most distinguished in the class. The "Official Register" for 1861, gives these five names for the Fourth Class: Peter S. Michie, James D. Rabb, John R. Meigs, Hurlbut G. Townsend, N. Y.; William J. Twining.

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY, INVENTOR OF THE STEAMBOAT

(Continued)

(D)

London Sept[r]. 12th 1791.

My Dear friend,

I hope you will excuse me if This letter should not be so full as you expect or I intended especially when I tell you that I am in the middle of a Specification of a patent I expect "to have more patents that any man in Europe"—I believe I have not wrote you but one letter Since april last which was by Cap[t]. Chapman Last month, in which I did not mention a word of my progress throgh a firey trial which has not yet come fairly to an end I shall not enter into menuties but shall give the prominent features of my probation—In april I was so far gone as to be obliged to wait upon my Creditors and tell them my situation who was lenetive (?) enough not to push me Sutdenly to any Extremities hopeing that rogers and parkers affairs would Come round by the rise of the american funds So as to enable them to pay me and go on in the mean time I was a perfect Lacquey to them boat [both?] giving assistance in arangeing their affairs as no person Could get to see Parker only through me—Rogers Claimed a great debt of him and therefore became Very envious to him because he would not instantly give up all his property to him parker on the other hand denyed the fact and proved to me by incontestable documents that he could not owe the other what he Claimed untill he discharged a Joint debt that they owed to a house in america amounting to £15,000, sterling which proved to be the fact, tho the debt had always been Considered as Roger[s]. own till an article appeared between them to prove the Contrary, Rogers[es]. view was To Sacrifice parker to Save himself and was supported in his pretentions by "Several of the most respectable merchants in the City" (the common phrase) if you alow there is any that deserve respect; Parker upon the other hand Saw that his Scattered property which was Chiefly in funds was every day increasing in

value and therefore made it his business to put of all that Lay in his power which in the end proved the best of policy as he is now with Certainty worth a very great Estate, but to go back to the Claim, Rogers proved to be a man of more Cunning and duplicity than any man I ever met with and would by his fair manner have made me an easy Sacrifice if I had not been from experience much upon my guard; after many long negotiations an arangem^{t}. took place between Rogers, his trustees (not assinees) and parker, in which I was highly Instrumental, that made it necessary for Rogers to go to holland in order to make an arangement of parkers property there which was to be put into proper hands and lay twelve months untutched which object was accomplished and was the Corner stone of parkers Salvation from total Ruin as they Rogers & his trustees had attached some and was determined to attach it and all the rest of parkers property. Things being thus aranged I began to feel Comfortable thinking from what rogers had told me that I should get immediate releif, the moment Mr. Parker should come into the arangements Just mentioned, for which I waited with great patiance, not liking to urge a man indistress, till I found M^{r}. R. upon the eve of departing for holland without taking the least notice of my Situation this induced me to wait upon him with my account to have at least a Settlement with him, when to my utter astonishment after finding that the highest Couloured Sedine (?) of evation, that I ever Saw, would not put me of he was obliged to appear in his proper coulers, by refusing to admit or acknowledge evin the existance of my having any regular claim; aludeing no doubt that I had broken the articles by carrying on the business in my own name! which no doubt you recolect was done Expressly to oblige him & P [Parker] thinking there could be nothing but Villians in the world I determined to put it to the test by instantly going to P [Parker] and hear what he had to say I told what had passed he Said he expected, I then requested that he would Settle and Sign the accounts if he approved of them which he instantly did without exammining them, what difference in men, parker has always been hidden and misterious in his proceedings But to do him Justice I have allways found him honourable; The next day I took my old friend Wakefield with me and in his presence gave Mr. R. notice that I should

persue the Legal Steps, pointed out in our agreement to oblige him to settle our affairs to which end I delivered him a written notice of what I intended and said likewise that I should call next day upon a Mr. Maitland who was his principle trustee that seemed to frighten him so much as to propose meeting me at Mr. Maitlands in the morning to See what Could be Done at the time appointed I attended at Mr. Ms. but was told that Mr. Rogers could not be Seen till Seven in the evening, This mortifies me extreamly as I had Just been toald that he had taken a Seat in a Coach that was to start at that hour for the Sea port from which he was to embark for holland by accident I afterward heard that he was to be with Mr. Maitland at 3 o'clock I therefore attended but Could not get admited though I saw him through a window! I urged however to See Mr. M. who at last condescended to come to the Door, and after Some time promised that I should See Mr. Rogers at Six I according at that time Called but So Compleatly was Maitlands mind poisoned that instead of giveing relief he expected me to give security to repay the money I had had of Mr. R. & P. should I fail to go throgh & perform all the experiments I had undertaken! the meeting ended in maitlands undertaking to defend by Law the inocent Mr. Rogers from the unjust pretention of a man (meaning me) who till then he was taught to be believe was more deserving I told him that I wished to have the good will of every one particularly his as I had been taught to believe that he was a gentleman, that was not only Capable of judgeing properly of things, but had an inclination also to decide impartially upon what came before him, but since I found that I had been wrong informed His good or bad opinion of me was but of Little Consequence in my Estimation and then Let them! the moment after Mr. R. set out for holland where he was two months. —In the Course of the time that had passed I verry unsuspecting held several treates (?) with two persons recommended by Mr. Rogers, who wanted to purchase, as he Said part of the patents; being anxious to permote any plan that was likely to extricate me from dificulties, I unsuspectingly answered to all the enquiries that was made by one of them, who proved to be his and his trustees, attorney. that no doubt Came to pick up what testimony he could that would opperate against me in a Legal process,

'as afterwards well known that the attorney had not the least faith in my plans, and wonder at the time from his Ignorance of them how it Came that he had So much as to want to purchase. I was now once more driven to the last Extremity with the worst of appearances before me. when contrary to all Expectation an invitation Billet was delivered to me by *two* footmen in Loud (?) Livery that wanted an answer. I opened and found it was from the *Earl* of *Carhampton* appointing a meeting with him upon business, at the time appointed I waited upon him and at Several other periods which ended in an agreement for me to go to Ireland for at least 60 days at £10 sterling per day! to give Some directions about a Canal that is carrying on there by goverment and individuals united of the Latter one half at least are Lords Knights &c with the Duke of Linster at their head. It was those in Council that had directed the Earl of Carhampton, then in England, to Send over an able engineer, and his Lordship pitched upon me, the next thing was to get leave from my Creditors (a mortifiing aplication) to go, the ten pounds per day was a least that they thought was worthy their humain indulgence therefore I got it But was advised by my old friends (who behaved nobly upon the occation) Bailay & Vaughn, to wait upon Maitland before I went and inform him of my intention I did so and he in a letter to each (for I toaled him I had Called by their advice) protested against my leaving the kingdom, and reflect upon them if they had advised the measure, which he doubted, these [illegible] protest was very favorable to me as they produced very sperited replys from both the gentlemen in question say they had and still did advise the measure and that nether him or any other person had any right by or under my agreement to stop me— I according on the Sixth day of may Set out upon my Jurney but did not arive at *dublin* till the 25th partly oweing to bad weather and partly to the Circuetous rout I had taken to See all the principle Canals in England—upon dilivering my letters to the Irish nobless, a meeting of the board was instantly Called and I was Summoned before them. You know me too well my friend for it to be necessary to tell you the Sensations I felt on my entering a Room where undoubtly was Colected in about forty great men a large proportion of all the Science in the Kingdom! many were

the questions I was asked and had to Solve or answer from which I found that they were absolutely an orricle (?); I am Sorry however to tell you that my deffedence (that I never shall get the better of) exposed me more upon this occation than I expected, though I afterward had the Satisfaction to find, did not opporate So much against me as I expected as it did not abate the Confidence they were prepared to put in me, I therefore Set about and executed the business wanting to be done with all the expedition in my power & which I Compleated and laid (in my own fist (?) writing about five times wose than Common) in a much less time than was expected and in a mannor (with respect to Substance) that gave general Satisfaction to all parties Concerned which before had been much divided, and then returned to England; but not to London but Liverpool, and kept my retreat a Secret to all but faithfull Wakefield who previous to my departure I made my agent as he had got quit of his partner and had Lent me all the money he Could raise, besides in my absence borrowing £100 for my use which Saved me from Stopping business in London at all! while Laying upon my oars at Liverpool, manchester, Chester &c. I invented a mill upon principles intirely new, (which I am now specifying—you know what I mean) and which it is evident Saved me from distruction; as previous to that my opponants in London acted in the most hostill manner poseble haveing heard that my business was done in Ireland therefore Expected Soon to "unconditional Submition" (But they would have been mistaken, as I had determined as my Country had done before me, never to be brought to Such terms by a Briton) a Change of features in affairs however made it necessary for them to depart from that proceedure, for I was fortunate enough while at Liverpool to make a Conditional Contract with Some Gentlemen at that place, that I believe had written to me before your departure from england to erect the mill and have an interest in it, Should my partners in London refuse an offer that I should make them respecting Her, and our other affairs which if they should, I was immediately to receive £300 from the Liverpool gentlemen (whom I had made acquainted with my Situation) to get a patent and pay the debt, that most pressed me at London. This point being gained I Sent my pro-

posials of Settlement to London at the Same time telling them what I had done with regard to the new mill if the did not Settele, and receive her, upon the principles I had laid down, which all throgh gave an indulgence to them, besides giving the mill into the bargain; On hearing what I had done and finding that delay might be very dangerous the alarm was sounded, and a general Council held in which my terms ware acceeded to in toto, as I had declared that nothing short would be accepted; I therefore in stantly Came to London to confirm them to which So much delay was given by duplicity and Stratagem as some times to make me fear that I Should Loose boath objects, and should if the mill at Liverpool had not been [illegible] makeing Such progress as to fear that She would be Set of and thereby become public property before a patent could be obtained for her which I would not begin with till the accounts Should be setled, which at last was done and an article of agreement entered into after it had under gone a thousand corrections to relieve it in Some degree of the Studied ambeguity that introduced into it in order to obscureit its true intent and meaning, which the the fairest feature (and therefore ought to be protected) Could never be brought fully into View The sceine however Closed in a mannor not a little gratifying to me as the haughty M^r^. Maitland was himself by letter obliged to garuntee the payment of Rogers' note to me for £237-5- before the business Could be Closed. we Since have established an office M^r^. Wakefield Clark at £150 per annum and have 12 or 15 men at work in a shop of our own! & expect soon to make Some experiments of mills after which the old subject of applying Steam to the Columbian maid will be ressumed the nine months She has lain by has so rusted an injured the mechinery as to make it necessary to take it all apart. We are (torn) below the albian mills (ruiens) at a place Called "Falean Starrs" in Surry and upon the water Side where we meet twice a week and go through the accounts and &c with as much Importance and accuracy as if we were Commitioners of the first important trust in the State, at the close of every examination, each man putts down his dividend of money due, and signs the Statement of the accounts they have past, when the meeting, by a formal minute written in a large (torn) book (reciteing the proceedings of the

day) Breaks up.—Haveing thus given you [illegible] upon [illegible] from my last (upon that [illegible]) At the present time, with an arising in Ireland into the bargain; I shall now Conclude by beging the favour of you to Excuse all Blunders and omitions that Loosees the Sence of what was intended As I have not time to Examine or Corect all that I have Said, having robed myself, as it ware, for the time have taken from the labourious task that I have upon Land, only for which I should take pleasure in writeing you a quire which would not exhaust the fund of, Incidents, and annecdote, that I have upon hand. at an other opertunity you shall have more.—Let me beg you after reading this to Send it to Capt. Morrow it may be Some amusement to him and my friends to retrace more particularly my movements for the last nine months which hitherto I have only Very partialy or generaly mentioned to them.

Believe me Dear West, let fortune Sport with me as she may, that I am in all Situations your sincere and efectionate friend.
Mr. G. W. West.

James Rumsey

[Addressed]:

To
Capt. Charles Morrow
Shepherds town
Berkeley County
Virginia

(E)

London Janry 5th 1791.

Dear Charles,

I have but fifteen minutes Left to Scratch you out a letter of bad news by the packet of this month. The persons that I sold my patents to have failed, which at present has put a total Stop to all my affairs I had my name on their Bills to the amt. of about three hundred pounds which I have got paid with much dificulty otherwise I should have become a Bankrupt with them.—I hope to keep the Vessel and all the mechainery from their concerns, if do she will keep me Safe against debts that I owe on account of the Con-

cern to the amount of £800—Sterling—The Society in america are mostly Leaches and Sharks, Some of them has Supressed all my letters to Barnes for some time Back, in which was all Wynkoops Bills, and instructions how to proceed thereon, the Vessel is ready to move with a Considerable degree of reputation, But must now be kept back from motives of policy. Should you Send a Scheme of goods for the Spring donot Calculat upon my Sending them to you with Certainty as it is uncertain where or how this Late misfortune may End.

Some of the Society grumble at my Sending you goods, and have drawn more Bills upon me which Shall be protested. As the Society owes me Considerablely on account of my advances here therefore Let no pretences what Ever induce you to Let them or any Person pretending Claims upon me (in Consequence of inventions) not Even Mr. Barnes have a Shilling. To Enable you to go on the better, do not remit me any money here, thes are only a few hints of the deranged State of affairs at this moment, as soon as they Come to Some fixed point you Shall have all the particulars Explained. I Expect nothing Else but a breath with the Society who has Certainly behaved Rediculous to me in a Very great degree, the Very persons that they introduced me to here See it and are my friend thogh they would not trust them for a farthing y^{et} the Lend me hundreds. I long to hear from you. give my tenderest respects to my family and all friends and believe me Dear Charles to be with unalterable Sincerity your friend and hb^{l}. Ser^{t}.

James Rumsey

P. S. the post waits I therefore have not time to read what I have written.

[Addressed] Capt. Charles Morrow

Shepherds Town

Berkeley County

Virginia

(F)

London Augs[t]. 23d 1791.

Dear Charles,

I think I have not written you a line Since the 9th of April at which time I sent you the Copy of a letter I had written to Mr. Barnes on the Sixth of Said month, which informed you of my then, Very disagreable Situation, that grew more and more uncomfortable every day as debts increased and Creditors grew impatient, friends began to Cool, and a few days must have ended my Career, in Europe had it not been for the following fortunate Sircumstances turning up, at a moment that was almost the last, in which it Could have given relieff! the Sircumstances aluded was as follows. "In Ireland they are Cuting of a Canal of great Extent and magnitude in which the most of the nobility and gentry of that country are Concerned, not only as legeslators, but as indiveduals also in which Capasity they have Subscribed two hundred thousand pounds Sterling towards Carrying on the work; which has been on hand for Some time till meeting with dificulties that embarrassed and divided them, so much, that they determined in a full board of directors (which altogether Consists of upwards of forty members) to Send to England for an Engineer, to point out the manner in which the Business ought to be Carried, The Earl of Carhampton who was then in London, was desired to make enquiry for a proper person for Such an undertaking and behold (from among the hundred thousand that profess to be Engineers in this Kingdom) he pitched upon me; after attending him several times, I received my instructions, with letters to Several *Noble Lords*, I Set out on the 6th of May for Dublin, at the Salary of ten pounds Sterling per day, till I should return; It would be a history to relate the particulars of this Jurney, which was attended with many Sceines that were new, and interesting, to a mind like mine; and thoght they were attended with many pleasing, indeed flattering, Circumstances, and ware Crowned with Success in the End; yet great and many were the Tryals, and agitations, that I had to Encounter with, in the accomplishment of my undertakeing—It was not an easy task for an orrator Such as I am, Contious of inabelity, in language and

want of fluency of Speetch, To Explain to the potamack Company my Sentiments upon the navigation they were upon; Judge then what must have been my Situation, when ushered in to hold forth, a techneial language, to upwards of twenty, Imperious, and no doubt Learned Lords, Knights, &c! who had been worked up into the Expectation (as Some of the Facetious toald me) that I could create boath Clay and Stone! Before these directors I had occation to appear Several times during the business I went upon which I at Lenth accomplished, to the General and great Satisfaction of almost every person Concerned; and at the End of forty days returned to England (not to London) again; The money I Raised from this Expedition; and the mannor in which my appointment and absence opperated upon my Ennimies here (the persons that boght my patent, and their trustees) was the means of Snatching me from the Sure distruction that awaited me, and all my European affairs; I did not return to London untill I received a confirmation from my agents, that my opponants had acceeded to terms, which I had offered to them, during my absence, as the only ones that,—should Ever again induce me to Coopporate with them! The terms I proposed was not so good as those that my Contract entitled me to But they ware the best I could get, and have already releived me from an anomous load of debt; and has set a business again into action with briskness, that has Layn Dormant almost Eight long months! at other oppertunities I will relate more particular the methods and manner by which I conducted and carried into Execution (without a Law suit) the great point I have gained, tho constantly opposed by *power, poverty,* and *prejudice,* not only against my *profession* but *myself* & *Country* I am Dear Charles your Sincere and Constant friend, and Ob^{t}. Hb^{l}. Servt.

James Rumsey.

August 24th 1791.

D^{r}. Sir,

The Ship not going yesterday as I Expected, that will take this to america, enables me to Say Something in reply to your

favours of the 10th of February which I received in Dublin on the 25th of May and Should have answered much sooner had not I determined to See my affairs on a more permant foundation, or defeated, before I Said anything about them to my friends—I am sorry that you have not found better Sail for your goods, but notwithstanding that, do not be discouraged, a time must Come, when they will answer better; and therefore I must approve your resolution to let them Lye on the Shelves; Sooner than trust them out. I have no doubt but the goods I sent you Come pretty high, But Should you have occation for more, I shall endeavor to have them laid in upon the Very best terms, at that time, I could not manage that point as I pleased, but now the goods part of the Contract is broke; So that I shall purchase where I please in future.

Turnover

In continuation to the 24th of August 1791

I am much obliged to you and my Sister for your friendly Solicitude on account of my Child, and hope that you have Continued it in spite of any indulgences She may meet with to the Contrary for be assured that I highly dispprove of her going to any public place, what ever; without a very particular acquaintance being with her in which case I have no objection, but would lean to a moderate indulgence, of what Extent, I now leave to your selves the Single Sircumstances of Suekeys age, and Situation, has given me more uneasiness, than all the dificulties I have met with besides, on you an my Sister ware my hope founded, should you relinquish your authority, or she refuse to obey, I should consider her as lost; not from bad example but from the indulgence I am well assured She will receive, I therefore beg and trust, that you will do everything in your power to have her to Conduct herself with propriety; if She Should not, america Shall never See me more!! for it is for my Children I Labour & therefore was it to happen, that they Should not deserve my Endeavours, in their favours; I would never wish to See them again as nothing Could hurt me so much, as their disgrace. I

Shall write to boath Polly and Suckey by this oppertunity, and shall urge a Change in their Conduct, the ensuing winter; which I hope will be attended to, if it is not, I shall take measures (if not too late) to prevent the like from every hapning again.

What a strange part has been alloted for me to act in this world, the fourth year is advancing with rapid strides Since I left you! and I am not yet ready to return; and what is worse, I see no immediate prospect of it; But Shall push with all my might, to bring that long wished for period to pass; for believe me I am Still as I always have been, lookeing forward for Comforts yet to Come, and which now appear to reside in my native Country! wheither they do or not Charles of this I am Certain, that if ever I ouer (?) any Comforts in this life, is for me it will be among you; Being Experimentally Convinced that but few of the innocent and Substantial Comforts of this life, exist near Kings and Courts, attendance and parade, Such as Continually go on in this great metropolis where many are Literally Starving for bread, while others Cannot move a single yard without half a dozen Servants to attend them! dressed in Clothing more Costly, by far, than our members of Congress! the wealth of this Country is Imence, many indiveduals Spend their ten thousand a year, without being half gratified for want of more! It seems to myself yet I can assure you that it is true, that when persons are talked of, that has but from £500 to £1,000 a year, they are Considered as in but middling Circumstances and So many of these kind of Sentiments I have heard, as to be impressed with the Same Idea! the Sound of a thousand Sterling is not, to me, so large as 100 dollars used to be; nor did I find it so hard to raise a hundred guineas here, with out resources too, as I did in america to raise that many penns (?) shillings when in the midst of all my friends and aquaintances!! Can you tell me the reason of that Charles? It was because I was a prophet at home!! I am now in a strange land—all this however does not Lessen my attachment for my own Country, nor prejudice me in favour of this. My best and sincerest regard to you and my Sister, and am as always your Sincere friend

J. Rumsey.

[Addressed]

To

Capt. Charles Morrow
Shepherds town,
Berkeley County
Virginia

favoured by

Capt. Chapman
Ship Salley
W. G. P.

(To be Continued.)

THE FIRST GENERATION OF THE PENDLETON FAMILY IN VIRGINIA.

The two following depositions were discovered in an unindexed volume of records in Essex County, Virginia, several years ago by a descendant of the Pendleton Family and are now published for the first time.

VIRGINIA, Sct.

John Waggoner aged Sixty five years or thereabouts of South Farnham Parish in the County of Essex in Virginia, planter, being examined and sworn at the request of Philip Pendleton Deposeth and saith:

That on or about the year of our Lord One Thousand Six hundred and seventy and foure ther Came Consigned to Capt Edmund Crask then living in the said Parish two reputed Brothers called & known by the name of Nathaniell and Phillip Pendleton, and this Depont. further saith that the said Nathaniell was a reputed Minister, and soon after his arrivall Sickened & Dyed and alsoe that this Depont was with his wife and Severall other Neighbours at ye Funerall of the Said Nathaniel Pendleton and did hear a Sermon preached at his Funerall, and this Depont further saith that he never heard that the said Nathaniell Pendleton had either wife or Child, and alsoe that the Said Phillip Pendleton when he had served out his time went for England, & returned hither again, and is since married & has Severall Children all now resident in King & Queen County in Virginia aforesd And further this Depont Saith not.

John Waggoner.

I Richard Buckner Clerk of Essex
County Court do hereby Certifie
that John Waggoner made oath to the above Deposition in Essex County Court ye 10th day of August 1708 And on the Motion of Phillip Pendleton was ordered to be Recorded and is Recorded.

Test Richard Buckner, Cl Cur.

Rachell Waggoner the now lawfull wife of the above named John Waggoner, aged fifty years or thereabouts being Examined & Sworn at the request of Phillip Pendleton Deposeth & Saith:

The very Same word for word with her Said husband in relation to the Death of the above named Nathaniell Pendleton and to all other matters above mentioned and further saith not.

Rachell Waggoner.

I Richard Buckner Clerk of Essex County Court do hereby Certifie that Rachell Waggoner made oath to the above Deposition in Essex county Court ye 10 th day of August 1708 and on the motion of Phillip Pendleton was ordered recorded, and is Recorded.

Test Richard Buckner Cl Cur.

VIRGINIA Sct.

George Ward aged fifty Seven yeares or there abouts of South Farnham Parish in the county of Essex in Virginia Planter being examined & Sworn at ye request of Phillip Pendleton deposeth and Saith:

That on or about ye year of our Lord One Thousand Six hundred Seventy & foure their came Consigned to Capt Edmund Crask then liveing in the Said Parish Two reputed Brothers called & known by the name of Nathaniell Pendleton & Phillip Pendleton Sent as this Depont heard by their Mother in the Ship whereof was Master Capt John Plover and this Depont Saith that the said Nathaniell was Reputed a Minister and preached a Sermon in the above said parish Church Soon after his Arrivall and Imediately thereupon Sickened & dyed And this Depont further Saith that he was a Servant in the House where the said Nathaniell Pendleton dyed and did see the said Nathaniell interred in the Earth, and never heard that the said Nathaniell Pendleton had either wife or child, and this Depont further Saith that the said Phillip Pendleton went for England at the end of five years servitude, and came to Virginia again the Same year and Since marryed & had severall children all now resident in King & Queen County in Virginia aforesd, And further this Depont Saith not.

George Ward.

I Richard Buckner Clerk of Essex County Court do hereby Certifie that George Ward made oath to the above Deposition in Essex County Court the 10 th day of August 1708 And on Motion of Phillip Pendleton was ordered to be recorded, and is recorded.

Test Richard Buckner Cl Cur.

At a Court held for Essex County on Tuesday ye 10 th day of August 1708. The Depositions of George Ward & John Waggoner & Rachell Waggoner wife of ye sd John concerning . . . Pendleton by them made oath to in Court and on ye mocon of Philip Pendleton admitted to record.

(Essex County Court, Deeds, &c. No. 13, pages 118-119 and Order Book 1708-1714, page 46.)

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the Pendleton genealogy. Reverend Philip Slaughter published a very good tentative account of the descendants of Philip Pendleton in his "History of St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County, Virginia" (1877) and this account was re-written by Mrs. Mary Dunnica Micou and published with many additions, in Green's "Genealogical and Historical Notes on Culpeper . . . Embracing a Revised and Enlarged Edition of Dr. Philip Slaughter's History of St. Mark's Parish" (1900).

The facts given in the depositions quoted above are, with a few exceptions, given in Doctor Slaughter's history, and by Bishop Meade in his "Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia" (1861), the latter stating that he derived his information from "a brief autobiography of Judge [Edmund] Pendleton . . . and from a genealogy by the same, both executed not long before his death."

Doctor Slaughter says that Nathaniel and Philip Pendleton were sons of Henry Pendleton of Norwich, England, but gives no authority for his statement. Mrs. Micou in her revised edition of Doctor Slaughter's account says that "Philip Pendleton was son of Henry Pendleton, 3rd son of Henry Pendleton, son and heir of George Pendleton, Gentleman, who married Elizabeth

Pettingall, daughter of John Pettingall, Gentleman, of Norwich, England."[1] Unfortunately Mrs. Micou gives no authority for her statement.

The compiler of these notes has had no way of either verifying the statements relating to the English pedigree of the Pendleton family nor of conducting a research into the records in Norwich. The statements are doubtless substantially correct but more detail would be interesting.

That Nathaniel Pendleton was in "orders" is certainly evidence that he was a man of education. Bishop Meade makes the statement that Philip Pendleton was "a teacher." The Bishop doubtless drew this piece of information from the autobiography of Judge Edmund Pendleton; so here we have evidence that Philip, the progenitor of the Virginia Pendletons was also an educated man. Judge Pendleton was a grandson of the first Philip and certainly had every opportunity of knowing about his forbears and their occupations.

The depositions of the Waggoners and of George Ward, given above, reveal the fact that Philip Pendleton was an indentured servant to Edmund Crask of Essex County but the nature of his servitude is not stated and it is a much too risky business to venture a statement in regard to the employments of any man at the time that Philip Pendleton lived, particularly when he was under "indentures." The statement made by George Ward that he understood that the Pendleton's were sent to the colony by their mother, is very interesting and one cannot but speculate as to the reasons for their being sent. Philip Pendleton evidently did not break off relations with his family in England for "at the end

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[1] The following is taken from Walter Rye's, *Norfolk Families,* Part IV, Norwich, 1913, p. 661. "Pendleton: A Visitation Family (see Harl. Visit., p. 219) which bore [arms] gu. an escutcheon arg. between four escallops in saltire, or. George Pendleton, of a Manchester family, was father of George Pendleton, of Norwich, who married Elizabeth Pettingall, of Swardeston, father of (i. a.) Henry Pendleton, of Norwich, who married Susan Camden, of London, father of [1] George (s. p.), [2] John, and [3] Henry. I do not find any of them mentioned in the index to Blomefield nor in the Norwich Freeman Rolls."

of five years servitude" he returned to the mother country. After a brief sojourn there he came again to Virginia.

Why the depositions of Ward and the Waggoners were made and recorded at the request of Philip Pendleton is another matter of interest, but, as yet, no record has been discovered which tells why this was done. One cannot help but wonder, however, if it was necessary for Philip Pendleton to prove the points therein on account of family matters in England.

Philip Pendleton evidently spent his remaining days in King & Queen County, the total destruction of whose records prevents our discovering anything more about him. It is stated that his wife's name was Isabella Hurt and that he died in the year 1721. His children were : (1) Henry Pendleton, born 1683, died 1721, married Mary daughter of James Taylor. She married secondly, Edward Watkins; (2) Elizabeth Pendleton, born about 1685, died 1761, married Samuel Clayton; (3) Rachel Pendleton married John Vass; (4) Philip Pendleton married Elizabeth Pollard; (5) John Pendleton, born 1691, died 1775, married Miss Tinsley; (6) Catherine Pendleton, born 1693, died ———, married John Taylor; (7) Isabella Pendleton married Richard Thomas.

Whatever may have been the status in England of the branch of the Pendleton family to which the emigrants Nathaniel and Philip Pendleton belonged, or whatever may have been the reasons for their seeking a home in the new world, the social and economic status of the first two generations of the family in Virginia is known quite definitely to have been that of the "planter class" (technically speaking) as distinguished from the "gentry." They were people of moderate means, living quiet lives, members of the Established Church, probably above the average in point of education, doubtless taking part in the more strictly local affairs and on the whole most desirable citizens: dignified, industrious, clean. If there is anything in the theory of heredity the Pendleton family is a very good example thereof. In the third and fourth generations great ability was exhibited in one instance at least (Judge Edmund Pendleton) and marked ability in several instances. This "ability" made itself known at a time when there was real opportunity for the reward of "merit," and at a time

when it was known that the Pendletons were people of certainly not more than comfortable circumstances. Their offices were not "purchased" and they were not allied by marriage, or otherwise to the really powerful families of the last days of the colony or of the early days of the state. Space forbids our going into details here (though they have been fully worked out) and a brief summary must suffice.

In the third generation we have Edmund Pendleton, jurist and statesman, and Henry and John Pendleton and in the fourth and fifth generations Nathaniel Pendleton of New York, a lawyer of note, Henry, of South Carolina, jurist, another Edmund, jurist and member of Congress, Nathaniel Greene Pendleton, a member of Congress, Philip Clayton Pendleton, a United States District Judge. Through Pendleton women such names may be added to this list as those of James and Philip Pendleton Barbour, John Esten Cooke, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, David Hunter Strother, John Pendleton Kennedy, Anthony Kennedy, Philip Clayton, and his sons George Rootes Clayton, and Augustin Smith Clayton.

Later generations of the family have also added their full quota to the record of "ability": men prominent in the affairs of state, members of the bench and bar, physicians of both soul and body, teachers and soldiers. Of the women of the race, let us note in passing, that only political disability has perhaps prevented them from obtaining the distinctions which have fallen to the men of the family. The women have, however, been truly distinguished: qualities of mind, in many instances far above the ordinary and in some instances amounting to genius, certainly "ability", and qualities of heart which in the real work of Life are so very necessary.

It is but fair to state also that the Pendleton family numbers among its members just as many mediocre people as one generally discovers in the histories of large houses. This is but the natural course of human families and really serves but to intensify the interest of the student of heredity and environment in the history of this family as a whole and particularly when due consideration is given to the really more than expected "ability" which it has produced.

WILL OF ABRAHAM MICHAUX

NUNCUPATIVE WILL OF ABRAHAM MICHAUX

"———— County, Dec., 31, 1747. This day Peter Farguson came before me, one of his majesty's Justices of the Peace, for this County, & made oath that on Saturday, the 28th day of Nov. 1747, the said Peter Farguson was at the dwelling house of Abraham Michaux, and in company with the said Abraham Michaux, then & there being very sick and like to die, and the said Abraham Michaux desired him, the said Peter Farguson, to write a line or two for him, meaning his Will and Testament; and that his will and desire was that W^m^. Tucker should have every thing that he was possessed of, with only one exception, a black heifer, which he gave to his sister, Susanna Quinn. But, if W^m^. Tucker died without lawful heirs, that then John Michaux, Junr., & Abraham Michaux, his brother, sons of John Michaux, should come in for his estate. And before the said Peter Farguson finished the writing, the said Abraham Michaux desired him to fetch his pocket-book, that he might see his old Will, & when he brought it, desired that he would read it, & accordingly he did, and the said Abraham Michaux said that the things that John Michaux had, he himself was not possessed with, meaning his moulds, and desired the said Farguson to tear his name from the old Will, & directly died, before he, the said Farguson, could finish writing and that the above writing is the true, last Will & desire of Abraham Michaux deceased.

Certified by

Charles Jehu."

Charlotte Court House, Va., January 19, 1916.

TO THE EDITORS,

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE QUARTERLY:

Dear Sirs,—The above will of Abraham Michaux may be of interest to the large number of descendants of Abraham Michaux and Susanne Rochet, Huguenot refugees. Abe Michaux's will, dated May 13, 1717, mentions his wife and eleven children. There were three sons and four (eight?) daughters. I have heard it claimed from some source which I

am unable to recall, that Jacob Michaux, the oldest son and mentioned in the will, was the ancestor of all the Michaux family now in America.[1] This claim seems to be false in the light of the nuncupative will of Abraham Michaux, John or John Paul, for he is known by both names, certainly had two sons. I am a descendant through Ann-Madline Michaux and will be pleased to hear from any one interested in the Michaux and Morton families.

Wm. S. Morton.

TABB FAMILY

Records from the Family Bible of William Tabb.

Births

William Tabb was born March 10, 1783.
Frances Y. Gray was born May 27, 1788.
Elizabeth Tabb daughter of William and Frances Tabb was born March 19, 1808.
John Tabb was born February 3, 1810.
Susanna Tabb was born December 19, 1811.
Edward Tabb was born July 24, 1814.
Ann Tabb was born November 4, 1816.
Mary A. Tabb was born December 14, 1819.
Frances Tabb was born May 10, 1823.

Norwick, Conn., February 1, 1916.

I hereby certify that I have compared this copy with the original record as found in the Family Bible of William Tabb, and the same is a correct and true copy thereof.

Charles D. Foster.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of February, 1916.

James Dana Cort,
Notary Public.

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[1] For an account of the descendants of Jacob Michaux, see *The Critic*, Richmond, Virginia, May 19, 1889.

EARLY WILLS OF HARDY COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

By DR. ARTHUR L. KEITH, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.

Hardy County was formed in 1785. The following wills are all that are on record prior to 1800. Where two dates are given the first refers to the making of the will and the last to the probate. When they are the same, only one date is given.

Adam Couchman	1782-86
Leonard Hire	1783-86
David Hogue	1786
Jane Denton	1782-87
George Louther (appraisement)	1787
Lewis Green (appraisement)	1787
Richard Likens (appraisement)	1787
Wm Darling (appraisement)	1787
Jacob Miller	1787
Peter Carey	1787
Mary Green (appraisement)	1787
Michael Redsleeves (appraisement)	1787
Garrett Vanmetre	1788
John Westfall	1789
Harmon Shook	1780-89
Adam Hider	1787-89
George Yoakum	1787-89
James Claypoole	1788-89
Alex. Doogan	1790
George Siles	1789-90
Benj. Scoll	1790
John Shook	1790
Robert Bean	1790-91
David Harmon	1791
Susan Hughes	1784-91
Abner Lewis (appraisement)	1791
Robert Forgason	1791
Ramsey McGee	1791
Martin Shobe	1792

Able Randall	1792
James Doogan	1792
Henry Myars (Mentions father Jacob Myars, deceased of York Co. Penna.)	1793
Amos Branson (appraisement)	1793
Thomas Davis (appraisement)	1793
William Baker	1793
Anna Maria Hire	1790-93
Jacob House (of Pendleton Co)	1795
James Christie	1795
Katharine Stump	1783-94
Lewis Hire (appraisement)	1794
John Burk (appraisement)	1795
Jacob Hous (appraisement)	1795
Morris Thomas	1787-96
Philip Bucher (appraisement)	1796
Joshua Strickler	1790-96
John Hickey (appraisement)	1796
Martin Reager (appraisement)	1797
Jesse Pugh (appraisement)	1797
George See (appraisement)	1797
Jonathan Parsons (appraisement)	1796
Jacob Doll	1798
George Hinkenbarger? (appraisement)	1798
Henry Lancisco	1799
Robert Gilman (appraisement)	1799
Peter Kerran? (appraisement)	1799
Samuel Slater (appraisement)	1798
Henry Bonnet (appraisement)	1800
Joseph McNamarrow	1800
Catharine Pancake	1795-1800
Conrad Moore	1799-1800
Joseph Cohonnon	1799-1800

HENRICO COUNTY: VIRGINIA: BEGINNINGS OF ITS FAMILIES

Part III

By WILLIAM CLAYTON TORRENCE

Doctor Philip Alexander Bruce in his *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (page 115) makes the following comment on the use of the term "mister" during the period of which his work treats. "In conversation the term 'mister' was, no doubt, applied to both gentlemen and yeomen, but when it appears in legal documents as a prefix to a name, it signifies that a person so designated was entitled to a higher degree of social consideration than was enjoyed by a mere yeoman; the term seems, in fact, to have been reserved in those early times in all forms of written and printed matter, such as records and books, for persons whose claim to be gentlemen, in the broad social sense, was admitted by all. . . . The use of the term 'mister' is observed most constantly in the lists of the county tax levies; in these lists, the word 'gentleman' does not appear, whilst the word 'mister' is employed wherever the person whose name is mentioned could lay claim to any special social consideration. . . ."

In the Henrico list of Heads of Families in 1679 we find the following names before which the significant term "Mr." is placed: Martin Elam, Francis Eppes, Richard Kennon, Richard Cocke, John Pleasants, John Ball (who was minister of the parish), Benjamin Hatcher, William Baugh, Henry Lound, William Clerke, Thomas Poulden, Gilbert Elam, Henry Gee, Gilbert Platt, Richard Lyggon, Peter Field, Charles Featherstone, George Worsham, Thomas Batte, Essex Bevill, John Goode, Richard Ward, Senior, [Francis] Radford [Redford]), William Elam, Thomas Branch, Senior, Thomas Osborne, Edward Osborne, Abell Gover, [Robert] Hancocke.[1]

[1] At later dates we find "Mr." prefixed to the following names which appear in the 1679 list: Samuel Knibb (1692), Henry Sherman (1695), Edward Stratton (1698); John Willson, Senior (1686) and Abraham Womack (1684).

It may be parenthetically stated that military titles were as significant (both in the local levy lists and the records generally)

To fully understand the social distinctions which obtained in Colonial Virginia and their significance one should very carefully study the two chapters entitled "Social Distinctions" in Bruce's *The Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* while to understand the almost vital connection between the economic and social status, one should know thoroughly Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* and have followed through the sources the development of families. One comment I should like to make in regard to the classifications made in this section of the article on Henrico family "beginnings." Granting that the term *Mister* was *"reserved in those early times, in all forms of written and printed matter, such as records and books, for persons whose claims to be gentlemen in the broad social sense was admitted by all"* (italics mine), one should be even more careful in attempting such classification as is attempted in this study (which deals with social distinction purely in its technical aspect and as an historical phenomenon) to beware of laying too great stress on isolated use of the term *Mister* as denoting any marked degree of position when applied to an individual whom the records, on closer investigation, show to have belonged, together with other members of his family, to the small planter or farmer or yeoman class. One should, before attempting any classification, follow closely the life of the individual, of the larger percentage of the members of his family, carefully studying their transactions in lands, the appraisements of their estates, the contents of their wills, the effects listed in their inventories, the marriages made, and official positions held by the members of the family. Another fact that should be carefully considered (and particularly in connection with the use of the term *Mister* during the last quarter of the seventeenth century) is the demoralizing effect which Bacon's Rebellion (so-called) than in the succeeding years within a quarter of a century, in which latter period the more general application in the records of the term (outside of conversational usage) very clearly supports Doctor Bruce's statement of its application to those *"whose claims to be gentlemen in the broad social sense was admitted by all."* Here, too, we shall find certain persons making their first ascent in the social order. The effect of Bacon's Rebellion was similar to the effects of the Revolutionary War and the great War Between the States; the process was levelling and also opened the great gate: "Opportunity." It is too much to expect of one person to gather all of the data to prove the truths of which one becomes conscious in making a study along the broad lines of this one. But the gathering of these details is necessary to any adequate and definitive economic and social history of the South. Before this history can be written the beginnings and rise and progress, with the details of development of many families will have to be worked out. The aristocracy of the South, with all its romantic

of the position of their bearers as was the term "Mr." [1] A reference to the Henrico lists of 1679 (see QUARTERLY, this volume, page 131 *et seq.*) shows that William Byrd, William Randolph, Thomas Chamberlaine, William Lygon, John Farrar are referred to by their military titles. These families of Randolph and Byrd, together with Cocke and Eppes have already been treated; the Farrars, Chamberlaines, and Lyggons will be referred to presently.

Next in order among the Henrico County families come the Kennons and the Pleasantses. The Kennon family from the earliest appearance of its founder, Richard Kennon, in Henrico about 1677, occupied a position of political and social importance. Richard Kennon (who died about 1696) engaged extensively in merchandizing and was the Virginia representative of London merchants. He was also a magistrate of the county and, in 1685, a member of the House of Burgesses. Richard Kennon married Elizabeth, daughter of William Worsham, of Henrico County, and his wife Elizabeth (who married secondly Colonel Francis Eppes). The children of the "founder" of the family were people of means: the daughters married a Bolling, a Royall, a Munford and an Eldridge. Richard and William Kennon (sons of Richard Kennon, the first,) married, respectively, an Eppes and a Bolling. Members of the Kennon family were magistrates in the counties

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social and political life, its powerful wealth, was a growth, a development, and any one with even the faintest knowledge of the South knows the preponderance of Virginian blood present. The story cannot be told in cold terms of dollars and cents, in the fixed phraseology of legal decisions and legislative enactments, for behind these was the blood of a people; back of it all men and women; the forces of heredity and environment. The course of development is a most wonderful part of the story. These are suggestions thrown out to try and light one part of the way for the coming historian of the South. I would urge any persons who are sufficiently interested in the subject to really be willing to do drudgery, and who can put aside any prejudices which might arise when one is called on to face and consider the facts in regard to one's own family history, esteeming truth the only crown worth the winning to do their part towards gathering the evidence which the historian shall need.

[1] See Bruce, *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 120.

in which they lived and one, or more, were members of the House of Burgesses. [1]

John Pleasants (1644/5-1698) and the succeeding generations of his family occupied a unique position in the social order of Henrico. "As seen from an examination of the records," says Doctor J. Hall Pleasants, of Baltimore, "the Norwich family of Plesance or Pleasants was distinctly of the middle class." [2] From his first appearance in the colony, about 1665, John Pleasants occupied a position of the first rank socially. His wife was Jane (nee Larcome) Tucker, the widow of Samuel Tucker, a ship's captain, engaged in trade with the colonies, and it is not improbable that by this alliance he strengthened his financial resources. John Pleasants engaged in merchandizing from the very first and was for years a factor for the Paggens, London merchants engaged in colonial trade. Pleasants was a convert to Quakerism and in fact became the very center of the Henrico meeting and one of the most influential members of the sect in Virginia. Wise in his generation, far-sighted, thrifty, a man evidently of strong convictions and possessing the courage of them. Though a Quaker he was in 1692/3 elected a member of the House of Burgesses from Henrico County, but religious scruples forbade his taking the oath of office, and his seat was declared vacant. This was not the first time that he had experienced the weight of the laws which were aimed at the practices of his sect. Several times he encountered the local authorities in his unswerving loyalty to his religious convictions. John Pleasants died in the year 1698, having amassed a comfortable fortune. His sons, John Pleasants, the second, and Joseph Pleasants, who apparently inherited much of their father's energetic spirit, in-

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[1] For an account of the Kennon family, see WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, Vol. XIV, p. 132 et seq.

[2] *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. XVII, p. 425, Doctor Pleasants further says: "The earliest English record of the name so far encountered is the Norwich reference of 1454 [William Pleasance, breweer, 33 Henry VI, mentioned in Rye's Calendar of Freemen of Norwich]. The name itself is probably derived from Plaisaunce, the name of an old French town. Norwich was the principal seat of the worsted weaving industry and large numbers of French weavers came there in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

creased the family fortunes and by their marriages, respectively, with women of the Cary and Cocke families[1] made their position in the social system even more secure. Elizabeth, the daughter of John Pleasants, the first, married James Cocke, son of Thomas Cocke, who was a son of the first Richard Cocke, of Henrico. In the third and fourth generations of the Pleasants family we find marriages with Randolphs, Jordans, Scotts, etc. From generation to generation the Pleasantses held to their merchandizing and planting and Quakerism. From the two former they literally piled up wealth, but even the temptation of influential political offices, which might have been theirs at their bidding, seems never to have made them waver in allegiance to their religious convictions.

To the very end of the story the Byrds, Randolphs, Cockes, Eppeses, Kennons and Pleasanteses continued to occupy the exalted positions which their "founders" in Virginia first occupied.

In Henrico, as in every community of great age, phenomenon of "rise and decline" is apparent in the social, economic and political orders. In their "beginnings" in Henrico the Hatchers, Farrars, Branches, Wards, Lyggons, Osbornes, Jeffersons, Baughs, Royalls, Archers, Worshams, Bevills, and Peter Field, Thomas Chamberlaine, Thomas Batte and Abell Gower, were very "well-to-do people." Christopher Branch, William Hatcher, Thomas Osborne, John Baugh, Thomas Lyggon, William and John Farrar and Peter Field and Abell Gower were members of the House of Burgesses from the county and the names of Farrar, Ward, Baugh, Jefferson, Bevill, Batte, Worsham, Osborne, Archer, Royall are found among the early magistrates, and Abell Gower, William Farrar and John Worsham occupied the responsible office of sheriff. Members of the Farrar and Lyggon families were prominent militia officers. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century these families, which had been so prominent in the earlier life of the community, were virtually swamped by the accumulation of large wealth (for that day) and political offices of greater responsibility and profit in the hands of

[1] John Pleasants, the second, married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Cary who was a son of Miles Cary, the founder of the Cary family in Virginia. Joseph Pleasants married Martha, daughter of Richard Cocke, who was the son of Richard Cocke, first of his name in Virginia.

the Randolphs, Cockes and Eppses. Other families were also beginning to come into the community and to accumulate wealth.

Nearly all of these older families (from point of residence) continued to maintain good social position and remained comfortably off, but they were overshadowed by the large activities of some of their neighbors.

The Hatchers (one branch of the family moved to North Carolina),[1] Lyggons and Farrars moved up James River to new lands and at a later day we find them holding offices of responsibility and profit in the counties of Goochland, Cumberland and Powhatan. One branch of the Jefferson family moved to the south side of James River, Lunenburg, later Mecklenburg County, where they occupied the same position which the family had formerly held in Henrico. Another branch of this family, represented by Peter Jefferson, moved into Goochland, later Albemarle, where its members occupied the foremost positions.[2] When Henrico County lost her territory to the south of James River, by the erection of Chesterfield County in 1749, she also lost her worthy families of Ward, Archer, Royall, Osborne, Branch and Worsham.[3] In Chesterfield County, however, these

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[1] In this connection it may be stated that various members of the earlier generations of the Hatcher family made marks in signing documents. The writer of this article wishes it distinctly understood that throughout the article any allusion to an individual's, or any number of individuals, of a family, having signed documents with a mark, is intended simply as the formal statement of a fact. I have not attached any significance whatsoever to the signing of a will with a mark; the facts herein stated are drawn from deeds, depositions and jury matters. Any one who is sufficiently interested to pursue this matter farther should read Doctor Bruce's excellent chapter entitled "Degree of Illiteracy" in his *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* Volume I, pp. 450-459.

[2] For note on Jeffersons see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XXIII, p. 173.

[3] For tentative accounts of Ward, Archer, Royall, Osborne, Branch and Worsham see the following: Ward: *Virginia Magazine, etc.,* Vol. II, p. 312; Archer: *The Critics,* Richmond, Va., issues of May 5 and May 19, 1889); Royall: *Virginia Magazine, etc.,* Vol. VIII, p. 75; Osborne: *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, p. 247; Worsham: *The Critic,* Richmond, issue of November 5, 1888; Branch: *Branchiana,* by James Branch Cabell. *Branchiana* gives only an account of the descendants of Christopher Branch, *youngest* son

families continued to hold their own among the "local gentry," and still had their representatives on the bench of magistrates and among the commissioned officers of the militia. A study of the inventories and estate accounts of the members of these families shows them to have been almost invariably among the financially better off in the community. The Baughs and Bevills also lived in that part of Henrico which was erected into Chesterfield, but they may be classified, in later generations, rather with the small planter class than with the "local gentry." [1]

Peter Field, Thomas Batte, Thomas Chamberlaine and Abell Gower left no male issue, at least so far as the extant records show. Each of these men occupied a prominent position in Henrico County and they were people of recognized economic and social standing. Peter Field and Abell Gower were both members of the House of Burgesses and Abell Gower was at one time sheriff of the county. Thomas Chamberlaine and Thomas Batte were magistrates of Henrico and Chamberlaine was sheriff, a militia officer of rank and, in later years, a member of the House of Burgesses from Charles City. Of Peter Field's antecedents nothing is known, but Batte and Chamberlaine were both of distinguished descent and Gower was, in all probability, descended from a family of prominence in England.[2] Chamberlaine, Batte and Gower were the first of their families to permanently settle in the colony.

Peter Field moved into St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County and died prior to 1709, leaving at least one daughter, Mary, who married Thomas Jefferson, of Henrico.

Thomas Batte moved from Henrico County to Charles City County and probably died there. He was married at least twice: first, Mary (whose surname is unknown), and second (about 1686)

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of Christopher Branch, the emigrant. An account of the descendants of Thomas Branch, the *eldest* son of Christopher Branch, the emigrant, will be published in the July number of the QUARTERLY, also some notes on the descendants of William Branch (son of the emigrant).

[1] References to Ball, Clerke, Poulden and Featherstone will be made later.

[2] See *Virginia Magazine*, etc. XXIII, p. 174.

Amy (whose surname is also unknown).[1] Thomas Batte had children (probably by his wife Mary, certainly not by his wife Amy): (1), Thomas Batte (born about 1662, died 1691), married Temperance Brown, and had an only child, Martha Batte; (2) Mary Batte, married Peter Jones, of Charles City County; (3) Amy Batte; (4) Sarah Batte (she was probably the Sarah Batte who married, in 1697, John Evans, Junior).[2]

Abell Gower died in 1689. He married Jane (whose surname is unknown). This Jane married, first, William Branch (son of Christopher Branch), secondly, William Baugh, third, Abell Gower. Abell Gower mentions but one child in his will, a daughter, Tabitha.[3] Of Abell Gower's descendants, if there are any, nothing is at this time known.

Thomas Chamberlaine (born circa 1652, died 1719) was one of the most lively characters with whom we meet in the records of Henrico; he was a hard swearer, a hard drinker, a hard fighter, and in a community whose remaining records show that he was not alone in his turbulent behavior, he seems to have been the "hardest."[4] Thomas Chamberlaine married, first, Mary, daughter of Major-General Abraham Wood, of Charles City County, and secondly, in September, 1709, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stratton, the second, of Henrico County.[5] As no attempt has been heretofore made to trace the descendants of Thomas Cham-

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[1] This Amy was one of the marrying kind and the records show that she married, *first* ——— Butler, *secondly,* Essex Bevill, *thirdly,* Henry Kent, *fourth,* Thomas Batte.

[2] See will of John Farrar, of Henrico County, published in *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. VIII, p. 425.

[3] A Tabitha Gower married, in Henrico County, 1700, Robert Grigg.

[4] For a detailed account of Thomas Chamberlayne, see *Virginia Magazine,* etc., Vol. XXIII, pp. 157-159.

[5] That it was *this* Thomas Chamberlaine who married Elizabeth Stratton the following item from the Henrico County records would seem to prove. In 1710 Elizabeth Chamberlayne of Henrico County gave power of attorney to Mr. Richard Lygon to acknowledge "my right of dower in a certain tract of land sold by my husband *Major* Thomas Chamberlayne to Mr. Richard Grills, etc. Witness: Dan[ll]. Jones, Richard Jones. Recorded August 1, 1710. (Henrico Records, Vol. 1710-1714, p. 21.)

berlaine the following data from the Henrico Records are here given.

Thomas Chamberlaine was born about the year 1652 and his will was probated in Henrico County December, 1719. This will was presented by Elizabeth Chamberlaine, the executrix therein named, and proved by the oaths of Charles Roberts and Henry Ligon, and on motion of the said executrix a certificate was granted her for obtaining probate thereof, and William Kennon and Henry Anderson entered themselves as her securities.[1] Both the original will and the recorded copy have been destroyed and we are therefore prevented from discovering what disposition of his property Chamberlayne made and of discovering whether he had other children than the two whose names are given below. Whether Thomas Chamberlaine and his first wife, Mary Wood, had any children we cannot say.

Thomas Chamberlayne and Elizabeth Stratton, his wife, had issue:

(1) Elizabeth Chamberlaine. Henrico Court, August, 1723, "On motion of Elizabeth Chamberlaine she is admitted to choose her guardian, whereupon she makes choice of William Batte, who accepts the charge and Henry Anderson, Gent., becomes his security."

(2) Dorothy Chamberlaine. Henrico Court, August, 1723, "Dorothy Chamberlaine comes into Court and prays that she may be admited to choose Richard Jones, Junr., her guardian, but the age of the said Dorothy not being certainly known the approving or disallowance of such her choice is referred to the next court."[2]

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[1] Henrico Court, Order Book, 1719-1724, p. 3.

[2] Henrico Court, Order Book, 1719-1724, p. 278. The next court was held in September, 1723, but there was no order in regard to Dorothy Chamberlaine. There is no direct statement that Elizabeth and Dorothy were the daughters of Thomas Chamberlayne, but should any one attempt to controvert the identifying them as such they would find it a rather difficult task and probably would never be successful. A chancery suit in Henrico Court, September, 1724, bears the title: "Elizabeth Chamberlayne, by William Batte, her guardian, Complainant, against Gilbert Fyfe and Elizabeth, his wife, executrix of the last will and testament of Thomas Chamberlayne, deceased, Respondents." (Henrico Court, Order Book, 1719-

It cannot (at any rate at this present time) be definitely stated what became of Elizabeth and Dorothy Chamberlaine, but the following abstract of a patent suggests a solution of the problem. On 13 December 1736 a patent was granted to Peter Jones and *Dorothy,* his wife, and Henry Batte and *Elizabeth,* his wife, for 1600 acres in Henrico County on the north side of Appomattax River, known by the name of Cunneecock, beginning at the little rocks of Appomattox River, which tract was granted to Abraham Wood for 700 acres, by patent, 20 October 1642 and by mesne conveyances the right and title thereof is vested in the said *Dorothy* and *Elizabeth,* and upon survey lately made the same is found to contain 1600 acres. (Register of the Land Office, Patent Book 17, p. 211.) [1] It may be said also that the way in which the name "Chamberlayne" occurs as a baptismal name among the descendants of this Henry Batte and Elizabeth, his wife, and among the descendants of this Peter Jones and Dorothy, his wife, further suggests that the said Elizabeth Batte and Dorothy Jones were the Elizabeth and Dorothy Chamberlaine, daughters of Thomas Chamberlaine, of Henrico.

Of the Ward family some mention should be made other than a passing allusion. A tentative account of this family was published by William G. Stanard in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Volume II, pages 312, 313, in which he identified

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1724, p. 356.) That Elizabeth and Dorothy Chamberlayne were the children of Thomas Chamberlayne by his wife, Elizabeth Stratton, is evident from the two facts: first, that Chamberlayne and Elizabeth Stratton were married in September, 1709, and secondly, Elizabeth Chamberlayne's being allowed to choose her guardian indicates that she had at least reached the age of twelve years and the uncertainty as to Dorothy's age places her evidently under the age when an orphan was allowed to choose her own guardian. It may also be stated in passing that William Batte (who was chosen guardian for Elizabeth) was the husband of Mary Stratton, and Richard Jones, Junior, (whom Dorothy wished to choose as her guardian) was the husband of Sarah Stratton, both of whom were sisters of Elizabeth Stratton, the wife of Thomas Chamberlayne, and the mother of these two children.

[1] The compiler of this article is at the present time preparing for future publication in the QUARTERLY an account of the Jones families of Prince George and Amelia, in which more data relative to the Chamberlaynes and Battes will be included.

the members of the first three or four generations of the family and brought one of the branches of the family down to quite recent times. Space forbids the giving of a detailed account of the family here,[1] but there are some facts which should be noted. The earlier generations of the Ward family were not apparently office holders other than having a representative on the bench of magistrates or in the militia, but from the first the members of the family seem to have occupied a substantial economic and social position. Seth Ward (the first of the name in Virginia) was in Henrico County as early as 1634 and was a "planter." Seth's son, Richard Ward, was a magistrate in 1666, and in the list of Heads of Families, 1679, appears as "Mr Richd Ward, Sen." He died in 1682 disposing, by will, of a substantial estate; probably a thousand acres of land, three servants (one of whom was an indentured servant and one an Indian), he directed the purchasing of two servants for two of his children from the proceeds of a crop then growing. He also disposed of household effects (among which were twenty-seven silver spoons, one silver bowl, three silver cups, a dram cup and salt cellars and a silver tobacco stopper, a gold seal ring and a silver seal, besides pewter ware, etc.) and cattle. No inventory of his estate has been found. The effects which he disposed of in his will show that this old planter's home was comfortably furnished (if simply) for those days. To his eldest son, Seth Ward (1661-post 1691), Richard Ward bequeathed[2] the "plantation I now live on," besides other property. Seth Ward (1661-post 1691) lived at "Sheffield," on the James River, in Henrico, now Chesterfield County, a plantation of good river lands located about eight or ten miles below the present South Richmond. Seth Ward was a "captain" in the militia and,

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[1] At a latter date the writer of this article intends to compile and publish in the QUARTERLY a full account of the Ward family. He hopes that by that time something definite may have been discovered about the English ancestry of the first of this family in Virginia, who bore the rather significant name of "Seth Ward."

[2] Richard Ward had also a son, Richard Ward (who married Sarah Blackman, and had at least one son, Richard Ward, who removed to Carteret, North Carolina, in or before 1746), and a son, Edward Ward, and a daughter, Elizabeth Ward.

while the name of his wife is as yet unknown, he had at least two sons, (1) Benjamin Ward and (2) Seth Ward, both of whom lived and died in Henrico County. Benjamin Ward (son of Captain Seth Ward) lived at "Sheffield" and married Ann Anderson, a daughter of Henry Anderson, of Henrico County, and his wife, Prudence, daughter of Edward Stratton, of Henrico. Henry Anderson was a man of large means, a merchant, magistrate and at one time sheriff of Henrico. By this marriage Benjamin Ward added to his already substantial financial position and at his death in 1732 disposed of a large estate. Benjamin and Ann (Anderson) Ward had four sons, (1) Colonel Seth Ward, of "Sheffield," who died about 1764, having occupied the positions of magistrate, colonel of militia, sheriff and member of the House of Burgesses; (2) Benjamin Ward; (3) Henry Ward, and (4) Rowland Ward. The three last named, Benjamin, Henry and Rowland Ward, moved to Amelia, where Benjamin (whose wife's name is now unknown) died about 1787, leaving a large estate. Henry Ward married his cousin, Prudence, daughter of Colonel Richard Jones (circa 1690-1758), of Amelia, and his first wife, Sarah Stratton, daughter of Edward Stratton, of Henrico County, and Rowland Ward married Rebecca Jones, a half-sister of his brother Henry's wife, and a daughter of Colonel Richard Jones and his second wife, Margaret ————. Henry Ward died in 1765, and Rowland Ward about the year 1800, both of them among the wealthiest members of a wealthy community. Benjamin and Henry Ward had both held the office of sheriff of Amelia and several members of the family had been magistrates, but as a rule the Wards seemed to chiefly devote their energies to planting and building up fortunes. The succeeding generations of the Ward family in Amelia and Nottoway counties, up to the time of the War between the States, remained among the wealthiest people, both in landed estate and negroes, in their section.[1] Aside from their

[1] The Ward-Anderson-Jones connection (these families were all "blood-kin" through their mothers) and their later intermarriages with the Fitzgeralds, Crawleys and Epeses, in Amelia and Nottoway counties is one of the most interesting studies in later colonial family "economic-social" history in Virginia. The person who has not made a minute examination of the records thereby developing the various connections, activities and the

"fortune building" abilities these people were noted for their strong individualities, their sound taste; they were, for their times, educated people and the strength with which they lived "whole lives" left an ineradicable impression on their community.

While we are on this subject of families who quite evidently occupied substantial economic and social position, but who were not particularly prominent in the political life of the community and are therefore little known to others than those who have made a careful study of the local records, it may be as well to give the facts in regard to the Stratton family of Henrico County.[1] Edward Stratton, the First, appears in Henrico County about the time the records begin, 1677. He was evidently a planter of comfortable means. He served on juries and grand juries, but beyond this seems not to have engaged in the public activities of the community. Edward Stratton was married at least twice: the name of his first wife is unknown, while his second wife was Martha (surname unknown), widow of Thomas Shippy, the Second, (who died in 1684). Edward Stratton, the First, had by his first wife, a son, Edward Stratton, the Second (born about 1665, died 1698), who lived in Henrico County. The Strattons lived in the Bermuda Hundred section of Henrico, now Chesterfield County, and in the list of Heads of Families in Henrico County, 1679, the name of "Edward Stratton, Junr" appears.

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extent of the power wielded by these people in their community, and who has not studied carefully their wills and the inventories of their estates and the estate accounts, which conclusively show in what comfort, almost luxury these people lived, removed even as they were from the centers of activity in the colony, can have no conception of the wonderfully interesting field which awaits the coming of a Virginia historian who shall tell of the real life of his people. Let us hope that some day there will arise a man or woman who, setting aside the popular fad for genealogy and the wild traditions on which we have been fed, will go carefully into this matter of "community" history and tell the story of such people as these; in that day we shall have "the true romance."

[1] While there has been unearthed nothing positive in regard to the English ancestry of Edward Stratton, of Henrico County, it does not seem improbable that he may have descended from the Strattons of Wiltshire. There are some very suggestive items relative to this matter in Miss Stratton's *A Book of Strattons,* Volume I (see pages 20 and 214).

Edward Stratton, the Second (or Junior) married, about 1678, Martha Shippy, who was a daughter of Thomas Shippy, of Henrico (a planter who traded with the Indians to some extent), and his wife, Martha (surname unknown)[1]—the very same Martha who married, as his second wife, Edward Stratton, the First. Therefore, Edward Stratton, the Second, had both mother-in-law and step-mother in one individual. It may be said, in passing, that Mrs. Martha, wife of Edward Stratton, the First, was a sister of a certain Mrs. Mary, who had married, first, Joseph Tanner, and, secondly, Gilbert Platt, and who was a rather contentious old spirit, constantly embroiling her household and her neighbors in rows; nevertheless, she seems to have been a quite capable business woman and to have managed her affairs with a marked degree of success. Edward Stratton, the Second, also seems to have eschewed politics and to have led the life of a planter. He died in 1698 and by his will disposed of a fairly good estate to his son, Edward Stratton; his daughter, Martha Cox, and to his (the testator's) wife Martha and his other children (whose names are not given in the will).[2] He made his wife, Martha, executrix of his will and this lady both faithfully and well administered the estate affairs, having inherited, no doubt, some of the business ability which seems to have marked certain of the women of her family. The appraisement of Edward Stratton, the Second's, personal property amounted to £425, a not inconsiderable sum at the time, but "long division" greatly reduced the share of each

[1] The name of Thomas Sheppy appears among the names of the residents "Att ye Neck of Land" (afterwards in Henrico County, in 1623/4 and as aged 22 years in 1625, having come to Virginia in the Supply in 1621. It was evidently he who, as Thomas Shippey, had patents for land opposite Neck of Land and above Curls in Henrico County in 1635 and 1637, respectively, and in which patents it is stated that certain of the lands then granted were for the transportation of (among others) Thomas Shippey and Elizabeth Shippey. The name seems to have been variously rendered as Sheppey, Shippy, Shippey and Sheepy. This Thomas Sheppy, or Shippey, of the "Neck of Land" neighborhood, was doubtless father of Thomas Sheepy, or Shippy, of Bermuda Hundred, whose widow, Martha, married Edward Stratton, the First, and whose daughter Martha married Edward Stratton, the Second.

[2] Edward Stratton also mentions in his will his sister, Rebecca Newman.

heir. Mrs. Martha Stratton (widow of Edward Stratton, the Second) married, secondly, in 1703, John Brown of Henrico County. From the estate account of Edward Stratton, the Second, the will of Mrs. Martha (nee Shippy) Stratton-Brown, and the recorded marriage licenses in Henrico, the names of the Stratton children have been obtained.

Edward Stratton (1655-1698) and his wife, Martha Shippy, had issue:

1. Edward Stratton, the Third, (circa 1680-17), of Henrico County. He died intestate and an inventory and appraisement (amounting to £242:1:4) was recorded in Henrico court in April, 1731. Edward Stratton, the Third, married Anne Batte, daughter of Captain Henry Batte, of Charles City and Prince George counties, and niece of Thomas Batte, of Henrico County.[1] Edward and Ann (Batte) Stratton had issue (with probably other children): (a) Thomas, and (b) William Stratton, of Chesterfield County.[2]

2. Martha Stratton married, 1697, George Cox, of Henrico.

3. Prudence Stratton married, 1704, Henry Anderson, of Henrico.

4. Mary Stratton married, 1704, William Batte, of Prince George County, son of Captain Henry Batte, of Charles City and Prince George counties (as above).

5. Anna Stratton married Joseph Watson, of Henrico County.

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[1] Prince George County Records, Vol. 1713-1728, pp.

[2] *A Book of Strattons,* by Harriet Russell Stratton, Vol. I, p. 213. This is an excellent piece of work though, so far as the Henrico Strattons are concerned, it does not go into the detail necessary to such a study as we are here making; for instance, Miss Stratton only carries out the *male* line, leaving the daughters of Edward Stratton, the Second, with only a mention of their marriages. The limitations of her work doubtless precluded any following out of lines of descent through the females. Miss Stratton's work also contains clues to the probable English ancestry of the Henrico Strattons.

6. Sarah Stratton married Richard Jones, of Prince George and Amelia counties.

7. Elizabeth Stratton married, first, Thomas Chamberlaine, of Henrico County (see ante), secondly Gilbert Fyfe.

Members of the Anderson, Watson and Jones connection, together with their later connections, the Wards and the Crawleys, formed a powerful "ring" in Amelia County. They were all people of extensive means.

In the Henrico list of 1679, it will be noted that the term "Mr" is prefixed to the names of Martin, Gilbert and William Elam, who at the time were residents of the county. In Part I of this article what is known of the degrees of relationship existing between these men is given (see QUARTERLY, Volume XXIV, page 139). The Elams lived in and near the Bermuda Hundred section of Henrico (now Chesterfield County) and were (as shown by their wills and the inventories of their estates) people in comfortable circumstances. They are designated, in conveyances made by and to them, as "planters," and several of the earlier members of the family almost invariably signed their documents with marks; using sometimes a simple X mark, at other times one, or both, of the initials of their names.[1] The Elams of Henrico and Chesterfield eschewed politics and seem to have lived quietly as small planters or farmers.[2]

Henry Gee, who is referred to as "Mr" in the list of 1679, married Mary, daughter of Gilbert Elam.

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[1] The Elams appear all during the colonial period to have been people in comparatively comfortable circumstances, though usually belonging, to what may be termed the small planter class, as distinguished from the wealthier gentry. For at least four generations the members of this family seem also to have signed their documents with marks. One branch of the Elam family went to the far South, where they became people of marked political and social position, while the Elams who married in Virginia have always occupied social position in their respective communities.

[2] The writer knows that a large amount of data has been gathered relative to the early generations of the Elam family in Virginia and hopes to be able to obtain permission for its publication at a later date.

The publication some years since of the Goode genealogy by Doctor George Brown Goode, under the title of *Virginia Cousins,* makes it unnecessary to go into a detailed account here of the Goode family. John Goode is referred to as "Mr" in the Henrico list of 1679, and in a deed, 1681, is designated "gentleman." In making his will in 1708 he refers to himself as "John Goode, Gentleman." [1]

"Mr" Francis Redford was a man of comfortable estate. Later generations of the Redford family occupied offices in the militia, were magistrates and one of them was sheriff of the county. Some of the family moved into Goochland.

"Mr" Henry Lound (another person who seems to have invariably signed documents with a mark) left no male descendants, one of his daughters married Captain Henry Batte, of Charles City County, and another married Henry Hatcher.

"Mr" Gilbert Platt also left no male descendants. His only child and daughter, Tabitha, married Edward Osborne.

"Mr" Robert Hancock, a man of comparatively comfortable means in his day, left many descendants. Robert Hancock mar-

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[1] The English pedigree ascribed to John Goode, of Henrico, in *Virginia Cousins* was doubtless constructed by George Brown Goode without sufficient data at hand to really prove the points he makes. It should not be accepted without a most critical examination. A clue to the correct English ancestry of John Goode is given, no doubt, by the will of Marmaduke Goode, of Upton, in Berkshire, Clerk, dated 5 Sept. 1678, proved 20 Feby. 1678, which mentions brother Samuel Goode; niece Mary, daughter of brother John Goode; brother John Goode, citizen of London and Susanna, his now wife; nephew Marmaduke Goode, son of said John Goode, and his [Marduke's, the nephew] sisters Elizabeth, Susannah and Anne Goode; brother William Goode and his son Robert Goode, and Robert's two sisters, Elianor and Mary; my sister Mary Haines and her two maiden daughters; *"my brother John Goode, in Virginia ten pounds within twelve months after my decease according to the apportionment of my brother John Goode, citizen of London";* brother Thomas Goode, in Ireland; sister Anne Wickens; servants Alice Payne and Henry Larkum; joint executors brother Samuel Goode and niece Mary Goode. For a full abstract of this will see Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England,* I, p. 26. John Goode, of Henrico County, died in 1709, and had, (among other children) sons Robert and Samuel.

ried Johan (who was evidently daughter of Thomas Lyggon and his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Harris, who came to Virginia in 1611, and was living in Henrico in 1625). From the sons of Robert and Johan Hancock there is a numerous descent, including people in all walks of life; their daughters married a Moseley, a Hatcher and a Bailey.

We have now come to the point in our classification of Henrico County families where there is a distinct line of demarkation: where there is a definite distinction between those families who are known to us to have been of the "gentry" or who were even probably or even possibly of this rank, technically speaking. We may again quote Doctor Bruce. He has just been writing of the use of the term "mister" in the county levy lists from which our prior quotation from *The Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* was made. He then says: "When the name entered [in the levy lists] was that of a man who belonged to a social grade below that of gentleman it is not accompanied by a designation of any kind." Family traditions to the contrary notwithstanding, also with due consideration to evidences of economic and social and political position of later generations of a family, we are forced to squarely face the facts as the records give them. Regardless of the fact that "mister" is applied to certain individual members of these families in the records (in some instances this seems unquestionably to have been done on account of the personal worth and acceptability of the individual), the records show that these people possessed only small estates or were engaged in mechanical trades and quite evidently did not hold the same social position as did some others.

This point is perhaps best illustrated in Henrico by the facts which the records afford relative to the earlier generations of the Woodson and Watkins families. An argument to the effect that the early members of these families were members of the Society of Friends (against whom there was unquestionably — whether right or wrong — political discrimination) is entirely beside the mark, for as we have seen in the case of John Pleasants, Quaker affiliation had nothing whatsoever to do with social standing.

Let us first consider the facts in regard to the Woodsons. In the list of Heads of Families in Henrico in 1679 appear the

names of Robert Woodson, John Woodson, Senior, and John Woodson, Junior, as residing in the Curls neighborhood, and it is quite evident that they owned some of the land included in the now famous Curls estate. John Pleasants was their near neighbor, their co-religionist, no doubt their warm friend indeed, and certainly eventually became the step-father-in-law of John Woodson, Junior. It may be said once for all that not one of the earlier generations of the Woodson family ever held any office of particular prominence in the colony. We find them as members of juries, grand juries, as constables and surveyors of roads, but beyond these offices they did not go. The Woodsons were substantial and respected members of the community; moreover, they appear to have been also self-respecting. In Henrico County the presentments of grand juries between 1677 and 1700 for all kinds of misdemeanors and vices, as well as crimes, are fully recorded. From these presentments, in which the names of males and females in all walks of life appear, the Woodsons, be it said to their everlasting glory, are conspicuously absent.

Robert Woodson (born about 1634, died post 1707) and John Woodson, Senior, born about 1632, died 1684), were brothers, and John Woodson, Junior, was son of John Woodson, Senior. At their first appearance the Woodsons were small planters, owning several hundred acres of land apiece. As the years went by they added to these possessions both by patent and purchase, and in selling lands they generally profitted. Robert Woodson was in all probability a Quaker (though no direct evidence of the fact has been discovered); John Woodson, Senior, and John Woodson, Junior, were both Quakers. The name of Robert Woodson appears frequently in the Henrico Records and whenever he was called on to sign a record or document he signed with a mark: a rather distinctive mark, "XX." In deeds he is designated as "planter"; in a patent issued to him (and others) in October, 1687, he is called "*Mr* Robert Woodson," and he married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Ferris (who is called "Mr Richard Ferris" in the same patent alluded to above). Robert and Elizabeth (Ferris) Woodson had issue: (1) John Woodson; (2) Robert Woodson; (3) Richard Woodson; (4) Benjamin Woodson; (5) Joseph Woodson; (6) Elizabeth Woodson married

William Lewis; (7) Sarah Woodson married Edward Mosby; (8) Mary Woodson married George Payne, and from them descended the Paynes of Goochland, Cumberland and Powhatan, a family prominent both politically and socially.[1] The sons of Robert Woodson were Quakers and Edward Mosby, his son-in-law, was also a Quaker. The remaining Henrico records show, furthermore, that Robert Woodson's children, with the exception of John and Joseph, were people in moderate circumstances. It must here suffice to say that within three generations, however, the Woodsons of this line, having moved up James River into Goochland, Cumberland, Powhatan and into Prince Edward counties, were people not only in comfortable circumstances, but were among those holding the most responsible local offices. Edward Mosby (the son-in-law of Robert Woodson) who first appears as a carpenter and a person of small means lived in Henrico County and died there at an advanced age. His children, by Sarah Woodson, were also people of small estate, with the exception of Benjamin Mosby, who died in Cumberland County at an advanced age, in 1774, having acquired a large estate and having been an officer in the militia and a magistrate. His children and their descendants have been distinguished for their service to Virginia and were always people of extensive means. The descendants of the children of Edward Mosby who remained in Henrico also became people of means and social position, though they were not as prominent politically as their Cumberland County kinsmen. Joseph Woodson (son of Robert Woodson) married his cousin Jane, daughter of John and Mary (Tucker) Woodson. Mrs. Mary (Tucker) Woodson was the step-daughter of John Pleasants, the First. Joseph Woodson accumulated property and his descendants were nearly all people of means and social position and through his son, Tucker Woodson, has descended a line of distinguished people.

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[1] The names of Robert Woodson's children have been obtained from deeds recorded in Henrico County and from the will of his brother John Woodson, Senior. Another daughter is attributed to Robert Woodson, viz: Judith, married William Cannon.

John Woodson seems to have himself come more prominently forward than any of the other sons of Robert Woodson. John Woodson is designated, in deeds made between 1683 and 1690, as "John Woodson, Carpenter" and in deeds between 1702 and 1703 as "John Woodson, Merchant." Here we have a man trained to a trade and it is not improbable that he at times personally exercised the knowledge which he possessed; at the same time it is not improbable that he also became a master mechanic. His merchandizing certainly increased his possessions. He married Judith, daughter of the Stephen Tarleton, of New Kent County. The will and inventory of John Woodson (who died in 1715) show him to have been possessed of considerable landed and personal estate. The appraisement of his estate amounted to £381:14:09 (in which six negroes are included). This inventory also shows that his home was comfortably furnished for the times.

The children of John and Judith (Tarleton) Woodson increased their patrimonial possessions. Of the sons (1) John Woodson (who died in Goochland County in 1754, without issue) was a magistrate in Henrico, sheriff of the county and major in the Goochland militia; his personal estate was appraised at £392:15:5, including nine negroes; (2) Tarleton Woodson, of Chesterfield County, clung to "the faith of his fathers," was distinguished in Virginia Quakerism, largely increased his possessions; is designated as "gentleman" in certain legal documents; (3) Josiah Woodson, died in Goochland County in 1735, a comparatively young man; his personal estate was appraised at £167:3:6, and he was also in possession of good lands; (4) Stephen Woodson, died in Goochland in 1736, also a comparatively young man, but with personal estate appraised at £173:4:6 and good lands.

One of Josiah Woodson's sons, John Woodson (born about 1730, died 1789), of Goochland County, married Dorothea, daughter of Colonel Isham Randolph, of "Dungeness," Goochland County, and granddaughter of William Randolph (1651-1711), of "Turkey Island," Henrico County. This John Woodson became quite wealthy for his day and was the only Woodson prior to the Revolutionary War who figured at all conspicuously in political life. He was a vesteryman, magistrate, member of the

House of Burgesses, and of the Revolutionary Conventions, was sheriff of his county (1778 and 1789) and county lieutenant (1779).

Let us return for a moment to John Woodson, Senior (born about 1632, died 1688), of Henrico County, the brother of Robert Woodson whose "line" is indicated above. John Woodson is designated as "planter" and in cases where his signature was required made a mark. His will shows him to have been possessed of a small but comparatively comfortable estate. He was also a Quaker. His sons were Robert Woodson (whose descendants have not been traced) and John Woodson. This John Woodson, Junior, was a staunch Quaker and married Mary Tucker, daughter of Samuel Tucker, a ship's captain, trading with the colony, and his wife Jane Larcome (who married, secondly, John Pleasants, the emigrant). This younger John Woodson, and in fact all of the Woodsons descending through this line, wrote their names in signing legal documents. At his death in 1698, John Woodson left a comfortable estate. John and Mary (Tucker) Woodson left three surviving children: (1) Joseph Woodson, (2) Samuel Tucker Woodson, who died issueless; (3) Jane Woodson, who married her cousin Joseph, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Ferris) Woodson. The Woodsons descending through this line were also people in comfortable circumstances and people with social position.

(To be continued)

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES

CORNICK, (CORNIC, CORNIX) FAMILY. — Simon Cornix obtained a certificate from Norfolk Co. Court, May 16, 1653, for 650 acres due for the transportation into the colony of 13 persons to wit: Jane Cornix, Martha Cornix, William Cornix, Thomas Cornix, Jane Simons, William Patreme, George Lawson, Plummer Bray, John Jennings, John Sealey, Thomas Gregory, John Turner and John Brock. A careful examination of the records in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties by Charles F. McIntosh gives many interesting facts. The following is an account of four generations of the Cornicks:

Simon[1] *Cornick,* above mentioned had issue: Martha, *William*[2] and Thomas. *William*[2] *Cornick* married twice: (1) Elizabeth, probably a daughter of John, a brother of Joel Martin; (2) Alice, widow of Capt. Thomas V. Ivy, of Princess Anne Co. In 1657 he patented 500 acres called "Salisbury Plains" in Lynnhaven Parish. His will was proved in Princess Anne Co., in 1700. He had issue by his wife Elizabeth: Martin, *John,*[3] *Joel,*[3] Elizabeth married Thomas Cannon, Barbara married Capt. Francis Morse, William died unmarried, Simon. By his second wife he had issue a daughter, Alof.

John[3] *Cornix* died and his will was proved in Princess Anne Co. in 1727. He had issue a son Lemuel, a daughter married Woodhouse, Mary married —— White and Alice married —— White.

Joel[3] Cornix died and his will was dated and proved in 1727, and he had issue: Endomion, Nimrod, William married Betty ———, Joel, Henry and Pendance.

LE GRAND.—Peter (Pierre) Le Grand came to Virginia in the French Huguenot emigration of 1700, with his wife and five children. He settled at Manakintown then in Henrico Co., and afterwards in Goochland. Jaques Le Grand "late of La Haye, Holland" died in Henrico, and his will was recorded in that county in September, 1716. He left his property to his wife Elizabeth and brother John. Jaques (James) and John Le Grand were

doubtless sons of Peter, the emigrant. Peter Le Grand, whose will is recorded in Goochland, and bears date February 12, 1736-1737, was probably another son. He mentions his brother Jacob Michaux and his "children," one of whom he names as John. Records in Cumberland show that he had six children, the youngest of whom was under age in 1753. The wife of this Peter Le Grand was Jane Michaux, daughter of Abraham Michaux and Susanna Rochette, Peter Le Grand, son of this second Peter, lived in Goochland Co., and in 1751 married Mary Woodson, of Cumberland (Quarterly, XX., p. 12). In 1758-1761 he was burgess for Goochland Co. He moved to Prince Edward County, of which he was a Burgess at the assemblies of 1761-1765, 1766-1768, 1772-1774 and 1775. He married secondly before 1767 Lucy, daughter of Col. John Nash, of Prince Edward Co. (Deed of John Nash, the elder in Prince Edward County) and had by this marriage Nash Le Grand.

John Le Grand, brother of Peter, married Betty ———, and died in Halifax Co. in 1784.

Long before the first Peter Le Grand came to Virginia another Le Grand, John Le Grand, was enrolled in 1668 among the tithables of Surry County.

Hudgins, of Mathews County.—The following statement comes from Mr. Russell W. Hudgins, Commissary Contractor at Ellis Island, New York. Houlder Hudgins, son of William and Mary Hudgins, was born at Liverpool, England. in 1740. His father was a native of Llandoff in Wales where the family was honored and respected for many generations. Houlder Hudgins settled in Gloucester Co. in 1765, and built Clifton Manor, a twenty-two room mansion, destroyed by fire in 1888. He was an officer in the Commissary department of the American Continental army and contributed a vessel — the *Lady Charlotte,* — which figured in the battle of Milford Haven. He was a justice of the Gloucester County Court and served in a similar capacity, when Mathews Co. was formed from Gloucester in 1790. He was a member of the General Assembly. His son, Houlder, the second, by Harriott Anderson (3rd wife), daughter of Capt. John Anderson, was born at Clifton Plantation, October 2, 1799, served as a boy in the war of 1812 in the 62nd Regiment Virginia Militia

commanded by Col. Thomas Hudgins and Lt. Col. Levin Gayle. He married Elizabeth Virginia Hunley, closely connected with the Tabbs and Yeatmans, of Gloucester Co. His son Houlder Hudgins, the third, father of our correspondent, was born at Clifton Plantation April 4, 1836, and educated at Col. John B. Cary's School at Hampton and at Columbian College (now George Washington University), commissioned 1st lieutenant of Company E., 24th Virginia Cavalry, and later was appointed Captain on the Staff of Major General Alfred H. Colquitt, who was afterwards governor of Georgia and United States Senator. He served at Seven Pines, Cold Harbor, Malvern Hill, Gaines' Mill, Spotsylvania and the Wilderness, and had a horse shot under him, and was himself wounded in the foot. He died at the house of his son in New York City, September 1, 1908. He married Margaret Porter, of Newark, Delaware, daughter of Prof. Zachariah Porter, of Delaware College, and through his mother Mr. Russell W. Hudgins is a lineal descendant of Elder William Brewster and Edward Doty, May Flower passengers.

QUERY.—Information wanted of Edmund Wyatt, and sons William and James, of Westmoreland Co., Va., whose descendants later lived (1741) in Stafford and Prince William counties.—*A. E. W.*, Atlanta, Georgia.

DEATH OF JOEL W. SHACKELFORD.—Mr. Shackelford was a prominent business man of Denver, Colorado, and died in that city, January 22, 1916. He was born in Kentucky, June 2, 1851, and was descended from the Shackelfords, of King and Queen county, Virginia. His great grandfather, Joel Shackelford, commanded a company of colonial troops that was present when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781. His father, James Madison Shackelford, was a prominent lawyer of Kentucky. Joel Shackelford received an excellent collegiate education and engaged in business first in St. Louis and then in Denver, and was very successful. He served in the Colorado Legislature in 1882 and was Secretary of the Colorado delegation at the Chicago convention in 1884, which nominated Grover Cleveland, and served two years as President of the Denver Board of Public Works. Mr. Shackelford took much interest in history and genealogy. He

married Annie Dexter Goddard, of Denver, and left her and seven children surviving. He was greatly esteemed by the people of Denver and his death is regarded as a public loss.

Porter, Inventor of the First Iron Vessel.—In olden times two brothers often had the same names, which was truer of the people in Norfolk and Princess Anne County than in any other parts of Virginia. John Porter, Jr.,[1] came to Norfolk County about 1646. He was brother of John Porter, Sr., who represented Norfolk County in the House of Burgesses and was expelled in 1672 for "being loving to the Quakers." He married Mary, daughter of Col. John Sidney who was member of the House of Burgesses, justice of the Norfolk County Court, high sheriff and commander of the county. March 29, 1651, was appointed justice of the Norfolk County court and April 21, 1656, was appointed high sheriff of the County. He died in 1691.

Samuel Porter,[2] planter, (son of above), married Amy and died in 1698. Samuel Porter, II,[3] son of above, married Mary Porter, died 1718. William Porter,[4] son of above, married first Kezia Cawsom, secondly Patience Wright, died 1760.

William Porter,[5] 2d., son, married October 20, 1782, Elizabeth, daughter of Isaac Luke, gentleman, and Rachel Dale his wife. Was captain in the 12th Virginia Regiment and Captain of Virginia Artillery during the Revolutionary War and served in the American Army from the fall of 1775 until the close of the war. Was a Vestryman in the Established Church.

Joseph Porter,[6] son of above, married Frances Prichard, daughter of Capt. William Prichard, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, December 26, 1805, and died 1831. Was a captain in the Virginia militia on duty at Norfolk during the War of 1812. Was proprietor of an extensive ship building establishment at Portsmouth, the largest south of the Potomac River and owned a number of vessels engaged in the West Indian trade.

John L. Porter,[7] son of above, born September 19, 1813, married December 18, 1834, to Susan N., daughter of James and Martha Lockhart Buxton of Nansemond County, and died in December, 1893. Susan N. Buxton was granddaughter of Lieut. James Buxton, a soldier of the Revolution.

John L. Porter was educated in the local schools of Norfolk and Portsmouth and learned the business of ship-building under his father. After his father's death he carried on the business for a number of years. In 1846 was appointed acting Naval Constructor in the U. S. Navy. In 1857 was appointed Assistant Naval Constructor and in 1859 was appointed full Constructor. Superintended for the U. S. Government the building of the Alleghany, Powhatan, Constellation, Colorado, Pensacola, Seminole and other vessels. Was on duty at the Pensacola Navy Yard in January, 1861, when it was taken possession of by the Florida Authorities; was transferred to Washington and fitted out the Pawnee; and on the 16th of April, 1861, was transferred to the Gosport Navy Yard in time to witness its destruction and abandonment by the U. S. Authorities; resigned his commission in the U. S. Navy and was appointed by Gov. Letcher to a similar position in the Virginia Navy. Was subsequently appointed in the Confederate States Navy and later promoted to Chief Constructor, a position created by the Confederate Congress especially for him. While in the Confederate service he designed a number of iron-clads for harbor defence, among them the Merrimac and Albemarle, also several sea-going iron-clads and torpedo boats. Was at Wilmington, N. C., when the Confederates evacuated it, fell back with the retiring forces and surrendered with Gen. Jos. E. Johnston's army at Greensboro, N. C., in 1865. See also "Record of Norfolk County," 1861-1862, by John W. H. Porter[8] (son of John L. Porter), for a sketch of John L. Porter's connection with the *Merrimac* or *Virginia*.

ORIGIN OF THE VIRGINIA HAMLINS.—This name is spelled variously in the old records: Hamblyn, Hamelyn, Hamelin and Hamlin. For many years the Hamlins lived in Charles City County in that portion which was in 1702 erected into the county of Prince George and the name may still be found in the vicinity. As the years passed by members of the family went into Surry, Amelia and others of the counties on the south side of the James River and scarcely is there a county in that part of Virginia in which there is not at least a deed in which some one of the name appears as either grantee or grantor. The destruction of the greater part of the records of Charles City, Prince George

and Dinwiddie Counties (the total destruction of the latter) will, however, prevent any complete history of the family from being worked out.

The abstracts of patents given below show the early date at which the Hamlins came into the colony of Virginia.

On 25 February, 1638, a patent was issued to Stephen Hamblyn for 250 acres in Charles River County (York) on Queen's Creek adjoining Richard Popely and from the lands of the said Popely east upon a marsh towards the Pallisadoes. The said land due to the said Hamblyn for his "personal adventure" and for the transportation of John Dixon, Oliver Jucke, Elizabeth Marmore and one negro. On 17 November, 1642, Stephen Hamblyn was granted 400 acres in the county of York at head of Queen's Creek, west side of the Mill Swamp, adjoining land of Captain Popeley, and due to the said Hamblyn for the transportation of Richard Oliver, Benjamin Pillard, Ambrose Bowly, Jon Harrison, Tho Buller, Tho Hynde, Sarah Bennett and Robert Tarbrooke.

On 26 October, 1650, Mr. Stephen Hamelin was granted 1250 acres in Charles City County upon the head of Wionoke (south), Matsheos Creek and the land of Mr. Cantrell (east), "Old Man's Creek," Queens Creek (west) and into the woods (north). The said land was due for the transportation of Jno Bay, Henry Rice, Anth Chandler, Wm. Pylor, Wm. Choldnedge, Richard Arundell, Tho Mason, George Haynes, Samll Parry, Thos Powell, Peter Mason, Wm Hurt, Tho Howell, Samll Goodwin, Thomas Harris, Robert Taylor, Tho ap Richard, Jonas Alpott, John Woodson, Edward Buckingham, Robert Fryth, Gab Robinson, Clement Whidow, Robert Crouch and Edward Thruston.

On 29 March, 1666, Stephen Hamelyn was granted 1400 acres in Charles City County according to the ancient and lawful bounds of the said land, being formerly granted to Mr. Stephen Hamelyn, deceased, and lately found to escheat as by proceedings 3 March, 1665, and is now granted to said Stephen Hamelyn provided "that the widow and relict of said Stephen Hamelyn, deceased, be no way prejudiced in her thirds and that she may enjoy the same in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes as any other widow of his Majesty's natural born subjects."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Majors and Their Marriages, by James Branch Cabell. The W. C. Hill Printing Co., Richmond, Va. Copyright, December, 1915.

This work is a very satisfactory effort at genealogy by a distinguished novelist, which is rather surprising, for the novelist lives in the realms of fancy, and on no one is the call for exactness more imperative than upon the genealogist. Mr. Cabell is the first to link up in connected chain the descendants of Lt.-Col. Edward Major, of Nansemond Co., who was Speaker of the House of Burgesses in 1652. In doing this he gives us many side accounts of other families—Ashton, Ballard, Christian, Dancy, Hartwell, Hubard, Macon, Marable, Patteson, Piersey, Seawell, Stephens, Waddill and others. Most of the work directly relating to the Majors is the result of Mr Cabell's own original investigations, but the side families are largely dependent upon the pedigrees in the WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY. Generally on questions likely to be disputed, Mr. Cabell gives the record. Sometimes he does not, and the reader has no answer in his text or other published authorities to a natural query. For instance: How is it shown that Martha, the wife of Gideon Macon, was Martha Wild, sister of Daniel Wild; that William Stephens was the son of Capt. Richard Stephens and Elizabeth Piersey; or that Anne, the wife of James Christian, was the elder daughter of Gideon Macon. There is evidence known to the writer of this notice that these things were probably so, but the evidence is not conclusive.

This book in the Roxbury Edition sells for $2.50, and in the cloth bound, Burlington Edition, for $3.50.

A Genealogy of the Lake Family, of Great Egg Harbor in old Gloucester county, in New Jersey. By Arthur Adams and Sarah A. Risley, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Privately printed, 1915.

This is an excellent example of a genealogical work gotten up on scientific principles. It will stimulate excellence in other works of this kind. I note the name of Nicholas Stillwell, who was son-in-law of John Lake, of Gravesend, Long Island, the founder of this Lake family. A contemporary of the same name lived in Virginia. He was a lieutenant, who served in the war against Lord Baltimore and with the Indians.

Some Emigrants to Virginia. Second Edtion, enlarged, compiled by W. G. Stanard. The Bell Book and Stationery Co., Richmond, Va. Price $1.00, postage five cents additional.

In this pamphlet Dr. Stanard, the learned secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, improves upon his first edition and gives us valuable brief memoranda regarding emigrants to Virginia during the colonial period, of whom there is preserved some evidence of connection with par-

ticular locations or families in England It is not intended as an enumeration of gentry, but includes all ranks from the laborer to the lord. It contains very strong evidence that the merchant class was the dominating element in Virginia colonization. Of course, the number of persons having proved connection with England could be added to; for Dr. Stanard does not claim to present an exhaustive list.

The Illinois Whigs Before 1846, by Charles Manfred Thompson, Ph. D., Associate in Economics, University of Illinois, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XII., No. 3, April 5, 1915. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana.

In this pamphlet Dr. Thompson does an excellent piece of analytic work. He shows very clearly that the Whig Party in Illinois, as elsewhere was made up of many divergent elements. In 1835 we find the Whig Illinois Senate endorsing for the presidency an anti-bank and anti-tariff man, Hugh Lawson White, a candidate of the State Rights Whigs of the South; and the anti-Jackson members of the Illinois House and Senate both put themselves on record at this time as favoring the plan of a bank, whose branches in the States should be contingent upon the consent or request of the States Legislatures—a limitation whose denial by the Whigs in 1841 caused Mr. Tyler to veto the bank bills of that year. When the author comes to 1839, while admitting the heterogeneous character of the organization, he makes the strange statement that the Illinois Whigs adopted "a clean cut" platform. The synopsis he gives is far from bearing out his assertion. There appears to have been plenty of denunciation of Jackson and Van Buren, but an entire absence of a positive program—plenty of general declarations of policy, but nothing or very little of the concrete. The bank which the Whigs in 1841 claimed to have been their main issue is not mentioned at all, and the tariff is referred to in terms which would have suited any Democrat. Indeed, Dr. Thompson himself states that the Illinois Whigs did not make the encouragement of domestic manufactures a "vital issue" in the canvass, "because the people of Illinois were for a moderate tariff of the type of the one of 1846!" How could it have been otherwise, when their candidates, both Harrison and Tyler, had planted themselves upon the compromise tariff of 1833, which steadily, reduced the tariff ten per cent. every two years and contemplated a period after June 30, 1842, when the tariff should stand at twenty per cent. on all articles.

An Address of Armistead C. Gordon on John Tyler, tenth President of the United States on the occasion of a dedication of a monument erected by the Congress of the United States to his memory over his grave in Hollywood Cemetery, October 12, 1915.

This is an excellent review of the life of the tenth President by a Virginia scholar, whose ability and literary merit have been recognized in his offices as Chairman of the State Library Board and Rector of the University of Virginia.

A Man's Reach, by Sally Nelson Robins, of Richmond, Va., is a strong study of Southern life. The scene is laid in Richmond.

Through the weakness of a long line of ancestors, Randolph Tuberville inherits a thirst for drink that bids fair to ruin him. Lettice, the girl he loves, determines to save him, and then follows a masterful struggle between good and evil and some very vivid scenes. The murder trial at the end adds the final touch of exciting interest. The story is dramatic and well told throughout. *A Man's Reach* will no doubt take its place among the most notable books of the year.

The book is printed by Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. Price, $1.25.

Limitations of the Treaty Making Power, under the Constitution of the United States. By Henry St George Tucker, formerly dean of the law schools of Washington and Lee University, and George Washington University, Washington, D. C.; Editor of Tucker on the Constitution. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1915.

In this work Dr. Tucker presents a thorough scholarly discussion of an interesting constitutional question. With the array of testimony produced by him, it seems strange that any one could dispute the proposition that the treaty making power was ever any other than one limited in its application. But when all the other powers of the Constitution have been systematically perverted under the construction of a national application, it is not surprising that doubt should be thrown upon the most obvious intentions of the Constitution makers as to the treaty making power. Under the power to regulate trade we have a national bird law, a law to regulate what is called the white slave traffic, a law to regulate child labor in the States and many other laws, for which there is no authority in the Constitution An appeal to the past, and especially to anything involving the sovereignty of the States, seems almost absurd in the light of the present.

But, however, doubtful of any practical application, Dr. Tucker gives a masterful historical analysis of an interesting question. He does more. He gives convincing evidence of his ability as a jurist and lawyer. Few of the books that have come from the press in recent years have the merit to recommend them as Dr. Tucker's splendid production.

Historic Virginia Homes and Churches. By Robert A. Lancaster, Jr., with 316 illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915.

This work includes pictures and sketches of practically all the principal colonial homes of historic interest now standing in the State of Virginia and of many which have been destroyed, together with the most important churches. It is a timely work. Every month or so the newspapers record the destruction by fire of another early home; and this fine collection of historic pictures preserves to future generations distinct ideas of things

which in their very nature, through accident and decay, are certain finally to disappear. The table of contents shows the wide scope of the book and indicates by a glance the diligence of the compiler. Mr. Lancaster has brought to his work the laborer's patient toil, sweetened by the patriot's devotion to every foot of his native land. Amid all the nationalism of the present day, when State Sovereignty seems a meaningless word and State lines are being fast obliterated, this work touches a chord in the hearts of those whose thoughts go back to the old Virginia of noble ideals and culture, strong in her authority and the leading State in a confederation of nations. The fruit of twenty-seven years' active endeavor, Mr. Lancaster's book is at once a noble memorial to the olden time and a triumphant evidence of what a determined purpose may accomplish.

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   Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, New York.

6. **The English in America.**
   (Volume IV. in Hart's American Nation). Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York.

7. **Men of Mark in Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Men of Mark Publishing Co., Washington, D. C.

8. **Biographical Dictionary of Virginia.**
   In five volumes. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York. 1915.

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